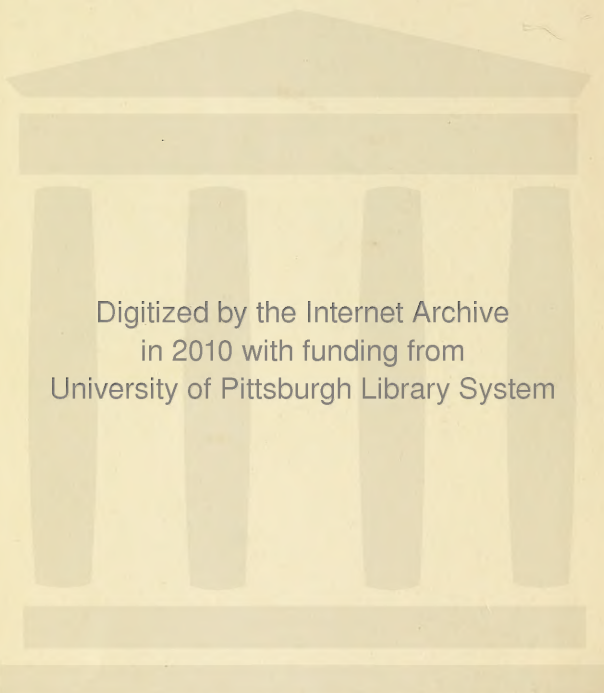


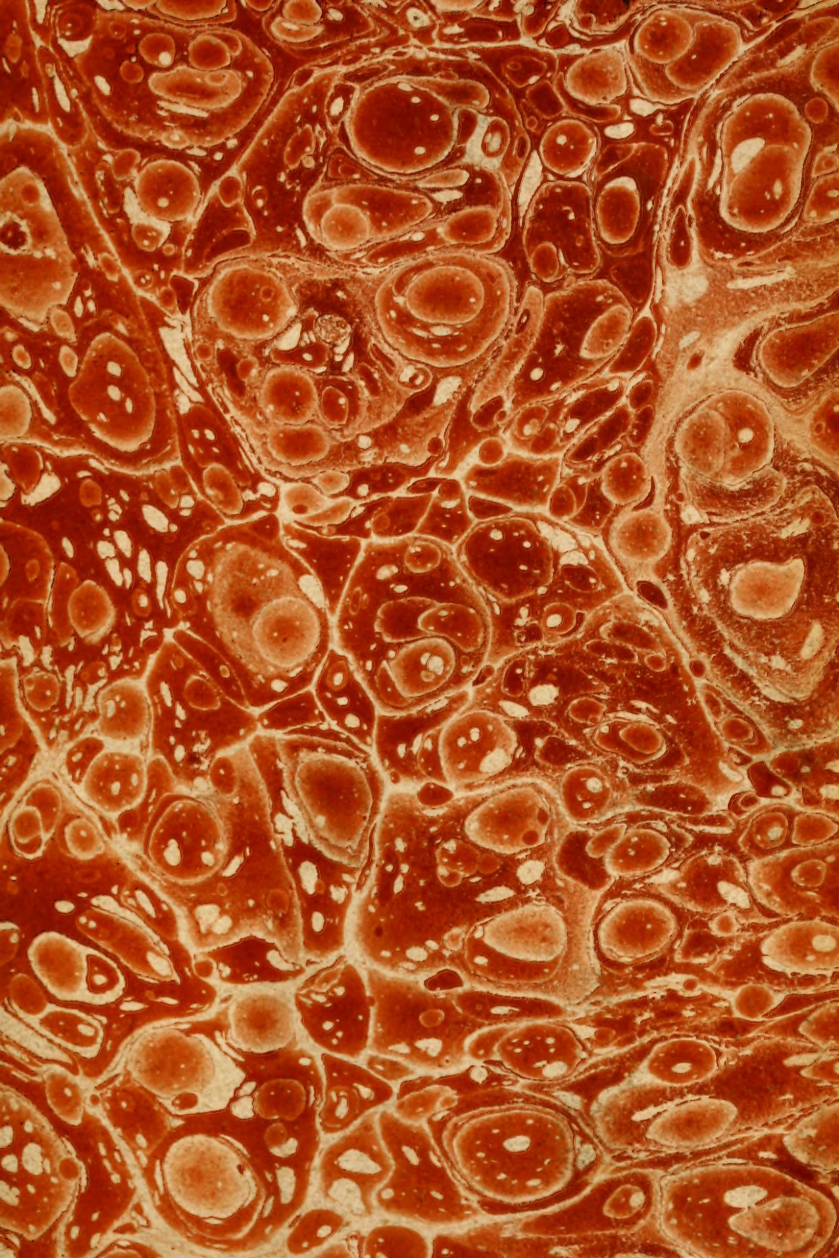
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See Nichols's Lib. Anecdotes. vol. VIII. p. 61.
110. 761. - Lib. Hist. IV. p. 733.

See Cavendish's debates. p. 187. 391.

Gent. Mag. LXXV. p. 288.

Mr. Pownall had been Governor of Massachusetts
and still retained the title. He was worthy well meaning
man, & after spoke on colonial affairs, but in a
very tedious strain, so that as Franklin remarks, he
is very ill heard at present. (to Dr. Cooper. Feb. 4. 1770)
it is probable therefore that very little of his Speeches
when made Boston, had they not been carefully
reported for himself.

Δ Mahon Hist. 5. p. 164.

'See on Gov. Pownall.' Burke's Landed Gentry.

Park. xiii. p. 18. Gent. Mag. 1805. p. 288.

Index to Monthly Rev. vol. 1. p. 424.

AN
ANTIQUARIAN ROMANCE.

AN
ANTIQUARIAN ROMANCE,
ENDEAVOURING
TO MARK A LINE,
BY WHICH
THE MOST ANCIENT PEOPLE,
AND
THE PROCESSIONS OF THE EARLIEST
INHABITANCY OF EUROPE,
MAY BE INVESTIGATED.

SOME REMARKS ON
MR. WHITAKER'S CRITICISMS
ANNEXED.

By GOVERNOR POWNALL.

“ Il-y-a peu de fables, qui ne soient conçues dans la vérité même : comme il-y-a peu de vérités anciennes, que la fable n'ait taché d'infecter et de corrompre.
Chorier, Hist. de Dauphiné.”

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS.
M.DCC.XCV.

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P88

P R E F A C E.

IT may seem strange, after having published a treatise on the use of *Antiquarian* learning, marking the line, in which it ought to be pursued, as a *commentary to history*, that the first use I should make of it is the writing and publishing a Romance.

What is now published was written and finished eleven years ago, as a second part to what I
a 3 then

then published in 1782. I annexed, at the end of that publication, an analysis of the contents of this; as a sort of syllabus that has not been without its use.

Some ingenious things have been written concerning the Picts and Celts, and published since that period. When the learned Antiquary compares those things with the analysis here referred to, as published so long ago, and with the treatise itself now published, he will see that they do not, in the least, interfere with those matters of literature, or those points of information, which this treatise contains; and whence it may assume any merit of originality.

The title of *Romance* need not stagger the reader's faith; for, all
history

history might equally have the same title given to it, in those parts, where it assumes to go back to, and to state, the origin and first ages of nations.

I have said, in the first part, that the dispersed and broken fragments of any ruined pieces of architecture may be so put together, by a person skilled in the science, as to restore the building in some degree to its original form ; and, even where many parts are lost, yet so as to ascertain what the building was. As of architecture, so in history ; for, the nature of men has its proportions and orders. I believe that the fact coincides with this position in most histories now extant, Grecian, Roman, and Barbarian. They are a patch-work of scattered fragments of facts, put together ac-

a 4 cording

according to these proportions and orders.

This *Romance*, therefore, founded in what are commonly considered as facts; conducted in its edifice according to the order of the human being, in its processions and actions; composed, as to its parts, of fragments and remnants of a system, which once had actual existence, but of which the fragments now lie scattered and neglected, partly buried in oblivion, and partly smothered and over-grown with the weeds of fable, is, to all intents, use, and application, of the antient history of people and nations, equally history; and stands on the same ground and level with what the Greeks have written, as history, of the origin of nations; of the Medes, Persians, Assyrians, Ægyptians, and
of

of themselves : on the same ground and level with what the Romans have written of their Trojan origin, of the origin of the Carthagenians, and the nations which they became acquainted with by their wars : on the same ground and level with the fables which the Northern European nations have adopted, as their origin, from Trojans, Phœnicians, and Persians.

It is equally as good history as these, this difference only excepted, that it doth not demand the readers belief, but professeth itself to be a Romance. In this shape, however, it may not be without its use. Some men will pick out truths from a Romance, or at least from what is so called, rather than from history. Those facts, which are offered to them as history, they will dispute and
reject ;

reject; whereas truths, which come forward veiled in the fable of Romance, will, whilst they indulge the flattering pride of unveiling them, steal upon their belief. Truths which lie thus concealed from the common eye, lie like the rough ore in the mine, which the student, by an exertion of his ingenuity, can elicit, refine, and bring to light, on the face of the learned world, as bullion, the fruits of his own discovery.

In reading those narratives which profess to be history, the reader is called upon to proceed with suspicious caution; to have constant and repeated reference to what he knows, or ought to know, of such matters and things as are supposed to be decided facts; to what is, and what is not, in the actual course

course of nature, and of man's being; in short, so to read as almost to destroy all pleasure in reading. If he doth not study history in this manner, he may as well, *laxa cer-vice*, read a Romance: and this Romance, to such readers, will be full as good as history.

In this treatise the facts are collected; are brought into approximation; and, by a kind of experiment, endeavoured to be fitted in a certain order and combination with each other. The Romance is only the *bead-roll* on which they are strung.

If the critic is disposed to give credit to the narrative, he will receive the more amusement in the reading, as the author did in the writing, when and where he persuaded himself to believe it. If
he

he is not so disposed, and withholds not only his credit from the narrative, but his approbation from the literature, which is made the foundation of it; and will not admit the facts, *quæ neque confirmare argumentis nec repellere in animo est**, I shall not dispute the point with him: I shall enter into no controversy about it, nor any defence of it, *conjecturæ in multis locum dederimus, in aliis nobis ipsis vix satisfecerimus, conatum in medio relinquentes, quô meliora et certiora docentibus suis quoque esset bonos et gloria*†. The very bringing the facts together, in this manner, may suggest to his superior ingenuity some better manner of treating them, which may be intirely his own. He may thus have all the credit, which the writer of this, in all

* Tacitus.

† Olaus Wormius.

humility, is willing to concede to him : for thus the purposes of knowledge may be truly served, whoever has the credit of the learning.

To be serious, I am really of opinion that if the study of antiquities, in these parts respecting the origin and first ages of nations, be pursued in this line of experimental inductive theorems, which do not pretend to have found out truth, but are only searching their way to it ; learning would become more productive of real knowledge.

I shall finish this preface with the opinion of Mons. Chorier, as, at the same time that it expresses, better than I can do, the sentiment, it confirms it with his authority.—“Il est certain, qu’ il-y-a
peu

peu de fables, qui ne soient conçues dans la vérité même; comme il-y-a peu de vérités anciennes, que la fable n'ait taché d'infecter et de corrompre."

EVERTON-HOUSE,
Nov. 1, 1793.

BOOKS AND TRACTS WRITTEN BY GOVERNOR POWNALL.

Administration of the British Colonies. 2 vols.
8vo. Cadell.

Three Memorials. 1. addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe. 2. to the Sovereign of Great Britain. 3. to the Sovereigns of North America. Cadell.

Topographical Description of the Middle Colonies in North America; with a Map. Folio.

Letter from Governor Pownall to Adam Smith, LL. D. F. R. S.

Treatise on the Study of Antiquities. 8vo.
Doddsley.

TRACTS.

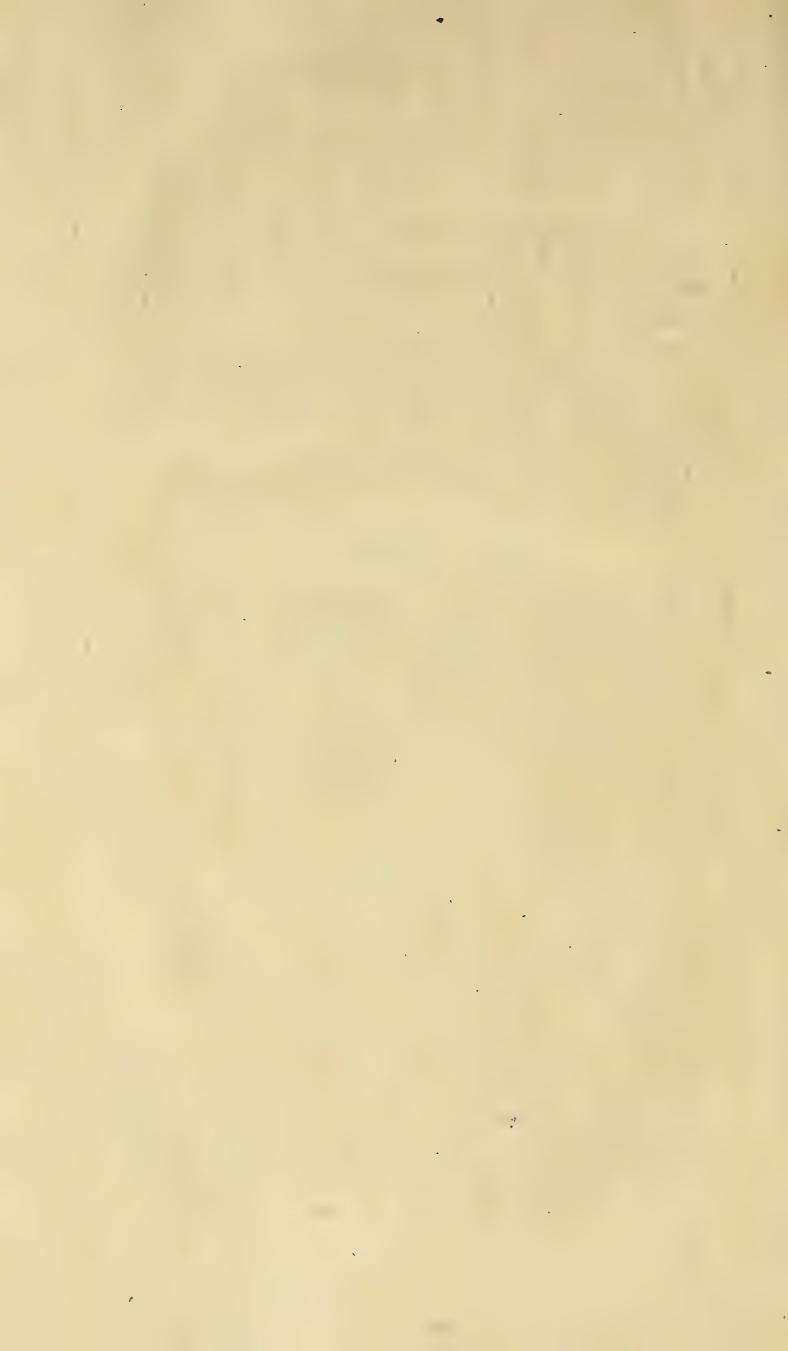
The Rights, Interests, and Duty of Government, as concerned in the Affairs of the East Indies. 8vo. Almon, 1781.

Treatise on the hostile Rivalships between the Manufacturer and Landworker, with a more special View to the Contest between the Woolen Manufacturers and Wool Growers. 8vo. Debrett, 1787.

Hydraulic and Nautical Observations on the Currents in the Atlantic Ocean; with a Map. Notes by Dr. Franklin. 4to. Rob. Sayer.

Memoir, entitled, Drainage and Navigation but one united Work: and an Outfall to deep Water the first and necessary Step to it. 8vo. Almon, 1777.

Notices and Descriptions of Antiquities in the Provincia Romana of Gaul, &c. with an Appendix describing the Roman Baths and Thermæ discovered in 1787 at Badenweiler. 4to. Nichols, 1787.



A N

ANTIQUARIAN ROMANCE.

OUR observations on the study of Antiquities, as a commentary to history, now pass from that period (of which Antient History, as it is called, gives the narrative) to a succeeding period, wherein a new race of men* coming up from the remote *seas*, and forth from the *forests*, invaded the *cultured world*, and destroyed its civilization.

The spirit and character of these two periods were as different as the race of men who composed the inhabitancy of them. The former were a race of *land-*

* Formæ hominum inusitatæ. T. Livius?

Animi Ferarum, corpora plusquam humana.

L. Florus, Lib. 2. cap. 4.

Jornandus, Lib. 1. § 21.

B

workers,

workers, having permanent settlements, and, by the process of community, organizing into *civil* society. The latter, in the first stages of their inhabitancy, occupied the earth in its original uncultured state : were rovers in the forests, and on the seas : had no community but in their family or hord : knew no society but that of their hunting or predatory parties : acknowledged no government or command but what arose of course out of the necessity of concentered operation, and unity of action, in these excursions. The forming of civil polity, and the giving of expansion to civil *imperium*, as territorial *dominions* were from time to time extended, was the spirit of the first period : war was only the means, or rather the instrument, of those efforts to that end. A direct spirit of war, a destroying spirit, such as actuates beasts of prey, was the spirit of the people, who, at the commencement of the second period, over-ran the then cultured and civilized world, and overwhelmed, as with a deluge, all establishments of ancient polity. Any organized idea of government, other than that of the order, discipline, and conduct, of their armies, entered not into their system. These people had no idea of *civil* government as necessarily co-extensive with the
 prædo-

prædominant military *imperium*; no idea of Sovereignty, but as the *external exertion of force of arms*, always held paramount, over the subordinate command of civil polity: and occasionally exerted, either in aid, or in restraint and repression of it, as the case respecting the supreme sovereign military power required. * They considered all civil polity as mere subordinate arrangement and interior œconomy in a family or tribe, which the community could best settle for itself; and under which it would be best answerable to the sovereign power: of what form this polity was, or how administered, was matter of indifference to these military sovereigns, so long as the government, remaining subordinate, preserved the lands in a state capable of answering the supplies demanded of them; so long as they preserved the lives and limbs of the individual subjects as depôts of effective recruits to the army. Under this idea, and with this view only, did the sovereign superintend † and make inquisition into

* In pace nullus communis est magistratus; sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt et controversias minuunt.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. 6, 623.

† If the Antiquarian Lawyer inquires into this matter, he will in this fact find the origin of some of the first principles of our own law.

the state of the government, the property, and the lives of the individuals.

The facts of the history of this universal deluge of Barbarians, as they are styled, the operations of this general revolution in the affairs of man, are generally or incidentally told by the Greek and Roman writers: but the sources and the first courses of these people who were the actors in it, lying beyond the *historic horizon*; the *few notices*, which are left respecting them, being long prior to all chronologic canon; and the causes of their abundant population not coming within the scope of the philosophy of these Greek and Latin writers; this very important and interesting event has been generally viewed with that wonder and astonishment, which struck the civilized world on the first irruption of these people: and men in general have rather sat down under this first impression continued, than exerted their faculties in the investigation of remote causes and their operation.

The really philosophic antiquary will not view the irruptions of these multitudes of people, as though they dropt from the clouds like a blight of insects, mere swarms of devourers; as though they sprang out
of

of the earth—*seges clypiata virorum*. He will not look upon their incursions, as if, like birds of passage, they flew through the air. He will consider and examine their capacity of moving in a body ; and their œconomy in supporting that body. He will not be content in ranking these people as mere savages ; and in resolving all their operations into mere brutal force. When he inquires, he will find amongst them military training and discipline, and a *military imperium* formed : he will observe, in their motions, a regulated system of march and encampment ; a perfectly assured establishment of supply in provisions, forage, and ammunition ; with adequate carriage for the whole. He will see, at the head of these, leaders of spirit and strength of mind, equal to the holding their ferocious officers and soldiers in subordination ; and to the maintaining their command : he will find them habile in reasoning experience ; and equal to the conducting of this their command to its point of service, in all circumstances, and in every duty of generalship ; and finally, he will find them equal to meet in the field the first and best generals of the civilized world.

He that sees these things in this light, will not be content with a superficial view :

the philosophic antiquary will collect, in the due spirit of investigation, all the facts and fragments of facts, as they lie scattered amidst the mass of historic ruins; and as they lie buried, and overgrown by the weeds of fable: He will, as a philosopher, analyse the principles of the human Being, in its procession to civilization; and in its progressive, stationary, or declining, population: He will try these principles by facts as they have actually existed in one place and time; and compare them by analogy with what is related, although but in part, to have existed in another; and, finally, will become able to explain even those fragments of facts by these principles, so as to re-compose them, into some semblance at least, of their original existence.

The artist who is acquainted with the parts and members of architecture, and knows their scientific forms and proportions, each under their respective order, will, if he finds but the fragments of an edifice, be able to pronounce of what order, style, and magnitude, that building was: and if he should find all the parts, although in the confusion of broken ruins, he will be able to put them together again, and to re-edify that mass of antiquity to its original structure.

Just so may the philosophic antiquary (* man having his peculiar *order* in the nature of his being, and his decided modes and *modules* in the procession of his existence) recompose the history of the human race by the principles of its system: for, although some parts may be lost, others broken, and all lying in confusion of ruin; yet, from a combination that has reference to a whole, as it may be found in nature, such a general semblance of the original may be restored, as shall answer all the purposes of practical and useful information.

This treatise now, as an essay attempting to explain, apply, and give example of, this proposition, proceeds in the line, and according to the rule, it hath lain down, to investigate, and state who these people were; what they were; whence they came; and by what routs, and in what manner (when they advanced to invade the old world) they made their irruptions.

* ——— veræ numerosque modusque ediscere vitæ.

Horat. Ep. 2. v. 144. lib. 2.

————— cur non

Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur?

Id. Sat. 3. v. 77. lib. 1.

Metire se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

Id. Epist. 7. 498. lib. 1.

Before we enter upon the examination of these points, it will be useful, if not necessary, to settle the *historic horizon*, (if I may use that expression,) as thereby the antiquary will be able to distinguish history from fable; and even in fable to find a clue to history.

* The Northern coasts of Europe to the North-east of the Elb were not at all known †. The Euxine sea was very little, if at all, navigated in the earliest times ‡. There was no certainty about the Caspian, which was supposed to be a great bay of the Northern ocean: as was also the Euxine §.

The || Scythian clans of the Roxolani, dwelling on the North of the vale of the

* Τὰ δὲ πέραν τῆς Ἀλβίου τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ὠκεανῷ παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα ἡμῶν εἰσίν. Strabo, lib. 7. p. 294.

† Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῶν προτέρων οὐδένας ἴσμεν τὸν περὶ ἅπλυν τῶτον πεποιημένον πρὸς τὰ ἰωάννα μέρη, τὰ μέχρι τῆς σόματος τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης. ἔθ' οἱ Ῥωμανοὶ προσήλθον πρὸς εἰς τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τῆς Ἀλβίου: ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἐδὲ πειροὶ παρωδεύκασιν ὕδνες. vide porro quod sequitur. Strabo, ibid.

‡ Strabo referring to Eratosthenes (who is said to quote Damastes, who, again, cites Boetius Euenemus) says—
Τὸ θαλαῖον ἔτε τὸν Ἐρξείνον. θάρρειν τινὰ πλεῖν. Lib. 1.

§ Ἀπὸ ὧς δὲ οἱ τότε τὸ πείλαγο; τὸν Πορτικὸν ὥσπερ ἄλλον τινὰ Ὠκεανὸν ὑπελάμβανον. Strabo, Lib. 1. p. 21.

|| Οἰκῶσι ἐπὶ τῇ βορειόθεν ὕψεται τῶν γνωρίμων Σκυθῶν, Ῥωμανοὶ, κατωτέρω ὅσες τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Βερίτανικῆς ἐσχάτων γνωρίζομεν ἤδη δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ κείνα διὰ ψύχους ἀοίκητά ἐστί.

Strabo, Lib. 2. p. 114.

Borysthenes, were the most extreme northern people who were known ; for, the regions beyond them, although in a parallel more to the South than many parts of Britain, which were known to be inhabited, were supposed to be uninhabitable on account of the extreme cold. Such is the Northern *historic horizon*, which the ancients * more precisely fixed at $54^{\circ}, 27'$ north lat. This was the extent of the precise geographic knowledge of the ancients † ; all beyond this was unknown, and supposed to be a region of inhospitable cold and darkness, the *fabulous region*.

The more remote ancients, as † Homer and Hesiod, although they seem to have known more than they explain, take up

* Strabo, book 2. p. 135, says, that the regions beyond the latitude where the longest day is of 17 hours were uninhabitable, on account of the extreme cold, and therefore
ἐκ ἐπὶ χεῖσιμα τῷ Γεωγεαφῶ ἐστὶ.

† Ὑπερβορέων περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔτι τι Σκυθοὶ λέγουσιν οὐδὲν, ἔτι τίνες ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ διακημένων εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Ἰσσηδοίης· ὧς ἐγὼ δοκέω οὐδ' οὗτοι λέγουσιν ἕδεν. Herod. l. 4. c. 39.

‡ Strabo, Lib. 3. p. 149. speaking of Homer as taking up table where knowledge ends, says, καθάπερ καὶ τῆς Κιμμερίης εἰδὼς ἐν βορείῃς καὶ ζεφυρίαις διακηνοῦσας τοποῖς, τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Βόσπορον ἰδρυσιν αὐτὴς, πρὸς τῷ ἄλῃ.

And Hesiod. Τιτῆις καὶσι πῆλιν χάος ζοφεροῦτο.

Theog. v. 814

ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἐνρυοδείης· v. 717.

the vulgate current idea of their cotemporaries, and suppose all beyond this horizon to be beyond the bounds of the earth; nay, beyond chaos; to be the region of Hades, and subterranean: they called this region, however, *Tartaros* *, by the name of a people and country which really existed. This unknown land, described as beyond the extreme bounds of, or beneath, the earth, was the fabulous habitation of a people known to the ancients only in fable. These were the Cymri, Cimmerii or Cimbri of the early ages †, the supposed children of the son of Japetus or Japheth, which person, although not named by Hesiod, is personally named by our Holy Scriptures, Gomer: and who by the allegory of his holding up the heavens with his head and arms in these parts, is pictured as the origin of this race: as the founder, and protecting God, having his head enveloped in clouds and darkness. This fragment of history, preserved by Hesiod, although by him expressed in fable, is confirmed by the Book of Genesis as history.

* ————— ἐς Τάρταρον ἡγάσθηα.

Hesiod. Theog. v. 721.

† Τῶν πρὸς τ' Ἰαπετῷ πατρὶς ἔχει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
Ἑλληνικῶς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χεῖρεσσιν.

Hesiod. Theog. v. 746.

To this country the Titans are, after the suppression of their rebellion against Jove, Jao, or Javah, supposed to have been driven, as to a prison.

The Cymri, or *Tribes*, (which is the real meaning of the appellative,) were supposed to be the most ancient as well as the most northern people; yet people originally of fable, being the descendants of the first son of this Japetus, or Japheth.

There were two other nations of the same race and family, the Teuts (pronounced Teyts), called, by the Hellenists, * Titans; and the Oïm, Goyem, or Gy-gim, these two nations occupied a second and more southern graduation of region, not beyond, but on the *extreme bounds* or frontiers of the earth (as will be shewn) under the government of the God-teus, or Got-teus, or Κόρτς; and of Gyges. It will appear that these two people are descendants of supposed *younger* sons of this Japetus or Japheth, which sons were, in the language of the East, in the language of the Gods, called, the one Tu-baal, and the other Magog. The etymology of Tu-baal and Gotteus expresses one and the same personal character: and Magog is

* Teyt-anes, the children, or progeny, of Teut, Teyt, Tis, Dis, &c.

the radical appellative Gog, Goy, or Oï, with the prefix *Ma* added to it, meaning the hither Gojîm, as distinctive of their relative situation respecting the Asiatic people, by whom they were so called : exactly as the Ma-daïm with the same prefix *Ma* : and the Massagetæ with the prefix *Mais*. One branch of these descendants of Oï, Oj, Goy, Goj, or Gog, (or as the Greeks pronounced the name Gyges,) were the original inhabitants of Trôia, or Troja, an appellative formed from Tré, and Oïm, or Ojim, signifying the district or region of the Oïm or Ojim. These were by the Hellenic colonists called *Sons of the Earth*, or men, as distinguished from those colonists from the South, who called themselves *Children of the Sun*, or Gods, which the word Hellenoi signifies, meaning no more than, by an eastern metaphor, the northern and southern people.

In historic reasoning it comes to the same concluding truth, whether a people are considered by the antiquary as deriving down their progeny by *actual generation* from some supposed first father of the race, whose head, like that of Japetus, is above the clouds, that is, whose origin is unknown : or whether they trace back their historical genealogy to some imaginary founder and protector of their race ;
some

some god whom they worship : and therefore, in the account which this essay will attempt to give of the *original inhabitants* of Europe, it will first trace back (through such fragments of history as the ruins afford) the race to its supposed first progenitor or founder ; and thence derive down the history of its generations, and the processions of its population and inhabitancy, to that period which fixes each branch as a distinct nation in the great drama of history. The author of this essay hopes he does not wantonly adopt profane ideas in supposing that he can see this method observed in sacred story.

Having traced up, by the means of profane history, as it stands confirmed by the sacred, the origin of the Cymri, or Cimmerii, to Gomer the son of Japheth, I will endeavour to trace, even in utter darkness beyond the *historic horizon*, their migrations, and the processions of their generations to those * Cimbri, who possessed the north-western and most extreme western bounds of Europe.

The apologue of another race of people, as not yet supposed to have emerged

* Κιμμερίους τὰς Κιμβριούς ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Strabo, lib. 7. p. 293.

from

from the subterranean *Tartaros*, and to have advanced upon the face of the earth ; as not yet having *historic existence*, plainly refers, and directly too, when it points them out as coming forth from the regions east of the Euxine, to those clans or hords of eastern * oigurs, then unknown, which in after-periods advanced upon the historic world, under the appellatives of Tartars Huns, Alans, &c. &c. &c. This fragment imperfect as it is, and although coming in so questionable a form as fabulous, is yet historic. These tribes were then actually beyond the utmost bounds of the *historic horizon*, beyond the extremities of the known earth, they were under the earth. We will at present leave these Tartar people in these eastern parts of this parallel of latitude beyond the historic horizon. There let them rest the due period of their foetation in the womb of time : whilst this essay endeavours to pursue, in the same parallel westward, the progressions and inhabitancy of the Cymri, Cimmerii, or Cimbri of the West.

As these will be best described in their courses conjunctly with the generations of the Teuts and Gojim (the supposed descendants of Cot-teus and Gyges) running in the next parallel ; we will, from the

* Vide Van Strahlenbergh.

same ancient account, and at the same time, describe this region and people. As the Cymri were beyond the supposed extreme bounds of the earth: * *Where night and day bordering upon, and within call of each other, hold their alternate courses, each for its determined period. Where, whilst day is abroad for her period of months upon the face of the earth, night remains confined within her dark mansions: and whilst night, in her turn, and for her like period, envelopes the earth, day is totally withdrawn from it, waiting for her returning season: so the next region, supposed to be at, or on, the extremities of the earth, is supposed to be the line of inhabitancy of the Teuts and Gojim. The antiquary will observe, that this description marks exactly the regions within the polar circle; but will find at the same time, that the description takes too high a latitude for*

* ——— ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρα ἄσπον ἴδουσι
 Ἀλλήλας προσείπον, ἀμειβόμενοι μέγαν ἔδον
 Κάλυκοι· ἡ μὲν ἴσω κατὰ δῆσιναι, ἡ δὲ δύραζεν
 Ἔρχεται, ἔδῃ πόλ' ἀμφοτέρων δόμος ἑλὼς ἐέρχεται
 Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐτέρη γε δόμων ἐκτοσθεν ἴδουσι
 Γαίαν ἐπιφρίσεται, ἡ δ' αὖ δόμος ἰντὸς ἴδουσι
 Μίμνει τὴν αὐτῆς ὥρην ὕδρ', ἐς' αἶν' ἰκίλαι.

Hesiodi Theog. v. 748.

Trans Suionis aliud mare, pigrum ac propè immortum
 quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem, hinc fides, quod ex-
 tremus cadentis jom solis tuigor inor:us edurat adeo clarus,
 ut sidera habiter.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 45.

the

the inhabitancy which it means to describe.

In these regions, on the extreme bounds of the earth, the antiquary will find the descendants, the subjects, or the worshipers, (just as the fable pleases to phrase it, for, all mean the same thing,) of Teus and Gyges : the latter on the eastern, the first on the western, bounds of the Euxine Sea and Mœotic Lake. He will find them called, in the vulgate and ordinary narrative, by the *general* Grecian appellative, * *Scythæ* : as well as by various other *particular* appellatives ; but the learned antiquary may at the same time trace them up to their national or family name, Gotti, Teuts, or Dteusch and Gojim, living under the dominion of † Cotteus and Gyges.

These two great Hetmen, together with Briareus, are by Hesiod described as those great officers which the English would call Lords of the Marches, and the

* Σκύθης δὲ Ἕλληνες ὀνόμασαν. This is one instance of the application of the general Greek appellative to a people whose special national appellative was Σκόλοται. Herod. lib. 4. c. 6. We shall, in the course of this essay, explain what the word Σκόλοται signified.

† Ἐνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ ὁ Βριαρέως μεγάλθυμος
Ναίουσιν, φύλακες ποταμὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

Hesiod, Theog. v. 734.

Germans,

Germans, Mark-reeves, or Margreeves ; commanding on the frontiers at the extreme boundaries of Hertha, (afterwards called by the Greeks Europa), the kingdom of Jao, Jova, or Javah. The regions which formed this kingdom are, by our H. S. History, called *the Isles of the Gentiles* ; and are described, according to the mode observed in those writings, by the names of the families or nations inhabiting them, as the country of the sons of Javan, Elisha, Tarshish, Kittim, Dodonim. [Genesis, ch. x. ver. 4.] This dominion, by this description, includes Spain, Greece, Thesfaly, and Thrace, to the utmost bounds of Kittim, Κερέας, or Getæ, north ; which is in fact the very boundary which we have described. The Antiquary cannot here but observe how the S. History coincides with and confirms the *fact*, which had been commonly received as fabulous. The portrait given by fable of those two great land-officers, and of Briareus, or Ægêon, the marine officer commanding on the Euxine and Mœotic, as having an hundred hands, can mean neither more nor less than their being Centreeves or Hetmen, commanding the Centuries or Hundreds of the tribes on these boundaries. And thus, in fact, doth the sober lan-

guage of philosophic history describe them, as may be seen in Palæphatus *.

The nations, who traced up their origin to or in the language of ancient times, were the children of Cottys, or the Gott-teus, Teut, Teyt, Teys, Tis, Dis, (for all are the same,) are supposed to have taken from this imagined progenitor their general family-name, Teuts, Dteusch, or Dteysch. Such is the train of genealogic history : whilst that of simple etymology may as naturally suppose this name derived from † Thiot, or Theod, Thyd, or Thyt, just as Cimmerici and Cimbri did from Cymri, both terms, as well as the term *Ach*, signifying, in the collective number, tribes or the community of people, or the race in general. By these appellatives the ancient uncivilized tribes of men described themselves, until taking their station amongst the civilized communities of the earth they assumed a descrip-

* Φασιν ἔν περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔπκον ἑκαλὸν χεῖρας, ἄνδρες ὅντες· πῶς δὲ ἔκ εὐθεῖς το τοῖτον ; τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἄπως τῇ πόλει ὄνομα Ἐκαλον-
 χερία, ἐν ᾗ ὤκον ἦν δὲ πόλις τῆς νῦν καλεσμένης Ὀρεσιᾶδος· ἔλεγον
 ἐν οἱ ἄνθρωποι Κότιος καὶ Βριαρέως καὶ Γύγης αἱ Ἐκαποντοχεῖρες, βοη-
 θήσαντες ταῖς Θεοῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐξηλασαντῆς Τιτάνας ἐκ τῆ Ὀλύμπου.

Παλαιφάτος περὶ ἀπικῶν Ἰζορίαν.

† Thiod populus, universitas ; scribitur alias Thiud, Thyd, Thiaud.

I. Ihrè Glossarium Sueco-gothicum.

tive

tive appellation, or national name. When they were first known to the Hellenic colonists, these appellatives, and this of Thiod or Teut in particular, was supposed to be, according to the universal way of reasoning about names, a *genealogic* name derived from some first progenitor, Teut, Teyt, or Tit; these Hellenists, therefore, in their oriental idiom called them *Tit-anes*, the sons of, or race deriving from Tit, as a stream from its source.

In a similar manner from the term *Ach*, signifying, and expressive of, the idea of the collective tribe, race, or people, several of the tribes inhabiting Greece, Thessaly, Thrace, and the regions to the north of these had particular names imposed on them by the Hellenic settlers, viz. *Achaioi*. The tribe Oim; Thraci, Tr'-acks; Daci, Die-acks; hence also with the prefix *Es**, signifying beyond, or remote, beyond some relative line of boundary, was formed the particular appellative *Es-achs* or 'Sachs, or 'Sacæ, the extreme tribes on the east; and 'Sachs, or 'Saxones, the extreme *settled* tribes of the West.

* 'Es, in the Northern language became *ix* and *ix* in the Greek; and *Ex*, and in some instances *Es*, in Latin.

* History informs us that these Titans (Scythians, as they were also afterward called by the Greeks) became more numerous, powerful, and warlike, than the elder and more northern tribes, the Cymri; and drove them from their original inhabitancy, different ways, some of them beyond the bounds of the *historic horizon* West and North-west, whilst they themselves continued the processions of their generations and inhabitancy along the next parallel of latitude, that is, along the extreme bounds of the historic horizon. The Scutes, Teuts, and Cotti, are accordingly found progressive, and advance along the vale of the Borysthenes; and on the borders of the Sinus Codanus † from the South east to the South-west. The Cymri in the continuation of their generations and habitancy between the Mœotic Lake (where they first merged into darkness, and were lost to history, being beyond its horizon, in the allegoric language, driven *off the face of the earth*) and the Cimbric Chertonesus and isles of the Baltic, where they emerged again into the historic horizon, must have dwelt in or passed through

* Herodotus.

† Pagorum Cimmericorum: vel Cimbrium, vel Guttiam, vel Junonem appellamus. Ha duplex est Australis et Borealis: prima a Saxonibus ad urbes Ripensam et Codilgentiam ex-
tenditur.

LYSCANDER.

the

the steps of Tartary, and the Russias, descending down the waters of the Dwina and other rivers, running hence into the Baltic. This course was afterward known to the Hunns in ages prior to those when they got upon the Danube and attacked the Romans. This course, by different routes, was well known in the early ages of the ancient world, to the *trading adventurers* of the great commercial people of those days. These bold adventurers pushed their enterprizes westward to the Atlantic ocean. They, as all similar adventurers do at this day, concealed the particulars of their routes. Therefore, although the Historians and Geographers had a general information that there were such *courses*; yet these being concealed beyond the historic horizon, they were totally ignorant of the particular routes. They had picked up some general information of the number of days journey, which these traders advanced up these rivers; and they made the geographical measurement of the length of these rivers by such. This course up the Tanais, over the height of the land, down the rivers which run into the Baltic, and hence to the Atlantic ocean, is the course which the * fabled navigators
of

* In the Treatise on the Study of Antiquities, which was
C 3 published

of the Argos are supposed, in the Argonautics of Orpheus, to have taken.

Whilst these Cymri remained between these two points, and beyond the historic horizon, all knowledge of them was fabulous, and they were called Hyperboreans. They came forward again to history in the isles of the Baltic, in the Cimbric Chersonesus, then an island, and in the Western isles of the ocean, under their general appellative Cymri, pronounced with the digamma Cim-*v*-ri or Cim-*b*-ri.

published in 1732, I ventured to suggest that the Argonautic expedition was, at the bottom, a map of the commerce of the ancients, formed into a fable, and wrought into an heroic poem. And now, in 1793, upon a revision of this fable, as written in the Argonautics of Orpheus and of Apollonius Rhodius, I feel myself confirmed in that conjecture.

The several persons concerned in this drama were of so many different countries and ages, that they could hardly in fact be brought together as ship-mates in the same voyage, except in fable. Besides, the fable has reference to two very different voyages, in very different courses; there is also reasonable ground [vide Gefner de navigationibus Phœnicum, Lact. 1, § 3. also Bochart and Burman's Catalogue of the Argonauts] to suppose that Ancæus, the fabled pilot of the Argos, was some famous Phœnician navigator. The two different courses mentioned in the Argonautics of Orpheus, and in those of Apollonius Rhodius, were, however, both used courses of the commerce of the ancients. The trade up the Danube was for Chittim-wood, and for slaves, from the Getæ and Davi, and I believe also for grain. The trade up the Borysthenes and Tanais, &c. &c. was for peltry, furs, and amber.

The first account which the Antiquary will meet with concerning these people the Cymri or Cimbri, and the Teuts or Teytisch, as afterwards of the Hunns, either in their clans, or as a nation, either as roving predatory parties on land, or as naval pirates on the seas, is recorded in the Gothlandic annals, composed from, and founded on, authentic Runic monuments, and on tradition, which it was part of their civil institution to preserve and transmit by the Vyfur or the Scaldri. The authority and testimony of these most early histories (although deformed with poetic fables) is of equal at least, I own I think of superior, credit, to the history of the first periods of Greek and Roman history, equally deformed with fables.

Both these people are described as become Sea-rovers, or Vics, (Vickanders, Wickingers, Ficts, and Piets,) translated, by those who knew the meaning of the word, into Piratæ; but mistaken by those who did not know its meaning, for the Latin word Piæti*.

By

* Nothing can be more estranged from, or ignorant of, the fact, when the Piets are supposed to be so called from their *painting* their bodies. The Britons certainly did, so did originally many, if not most of the Thracians and Illy-

By the necessity which these tribes found of drawing their subsistence from the ocean, and from the nature of their situation, they became fishermen and navigators: from these circumstances they became also populous: from the constant training and necessity of command, to center and give unity of action to men following their occupation in bodies, they naturally organized into frames of government; and, from the course of their predatory excursions, fell into subordination to military commands. They thus in time became, under their *Wiggans* and *Thaëns*, naval warlike powers. They not only made incursions reciprocally into each others borders, but, in train of time and events, into Scotland, England, Belgia, and the shores of Aquitaine. They passed up the Rhine, and other rivers of Germany and Gaul. They sent out and established colonies in these regions, especially in Scotland, under their *Vics* or *Wiggans*; and in Ireland, and Aquitaine, and Spain, under their *Thaëns*, and as Vettones in Spain: finally, after various predatory irruptions even in-

rians †, κατὰστικτοί [tattoo'd] δ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυρίοις καὶ Θραῖσι. But there is no account, or the most distant hint, that the Picts or Piets did so.

† Strabo, Edit. Casaub. 1585. Lib. 7. p. 318.

to Italy, they advanced in power even to the attempting the conquest of Rome itself; and actually in the end, under their names Cimbri, Teutones, Goths, Wandals, &c. overturned and totally annihilated the Western Roman Empire. The courses of the particulars of which procession of power and action will be seen in the sequel.

As the Antiquary, in the course of his enquiries into these subjects, will meet repeatedly with some general terminations, which are annexed to the names of the bodies or swarms, migrating from these clans of people, both those of the Teytisch as well as those of the Cymric tribes, such as *ingi*, *aitæ*, or *atæ*, and *ones*, or with the digamma *vones*. It comes in here in the regular course of philosophic analysis, and will hereafter spare much repeated trouble to the reader, to explain the nature and meaning of these terminations.

The word *ing* and *ingi* when affixed as a termination to any patronymic, signifies son or sons, descendants, or *of the race*. This termination is rather more peculiar to the Teytisch family.

Aitæ,

Aitæ, Haid, or Hait, is a Cymric termination, and signifies, in its first sense, a swarm of bees, from *heddio* to swarm; in its applied sense, signifies an emigrating body of such or such a race or clan, as it becomes the termination to the name of. The word *Ætt* in the Sueco-gothic language, *Aita* in the Camb: *Haite* and *Hayte* in Fris: *Attya* in the Hung: *Aiti* in the Finl: and *Aitea* in the Lapland, are all synonymous.

Ones, from *Wonen*, derived from *Wo^uan* to dwell; and *ὄνες* the Greek termination from *ὄνον* *tectum*, (signifying the same thing,) denotes, when added as a termination to any name of a people, or rather colony of a people, that such were become settled *dwellers*. This termination is most in use with the Teytisch Family.

By annexing the termination *ingi*, to the word *piga*, or *Wiga* (pronounced, and written also, variously, *Wig*, *Vic*, *Fict*, *Pict*, *Peaght*, *Vect*, and *Wight* or *Vet*, a Warrior, or War-captain, and in eminence *vi^{ct}or*), come, *Wickings*, *Wittingi*, the band of warriors or conquerors: by annexing the termination *ones* to the same appellative, the same people are called *Victones*, *Pictones*, *Vet-*
tones;

tones ; by annexing *ingi* to the Teuts, or Teutschs, come the Teutingi, Teuthingi, and signifies emigrants from, or descendants of, the Teuts or Teytsch : by annexing *ones* to the same name, the words Teutones and Teuthones are made, and means the same people become settled dwellers. In like manner 'Sacæ, 'Sachs, and 'Saxones ; Gutts, Jutts, and Goths, make Guttingi, Juttingi, Guthingi, and Gothingi. The Greeks had the same termination signifying the same thing. The Halizones are the people who dwelt beyond or on the other bank of or beyond the river Halys [*Ἀλιζώνας ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀλυος*. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 552.] The Antiquary will find many instances of the application of this termination *ones* amongst the Teutsch nations, sometimes with the digamma w and v, as Inge vones, the inhabitants of the Ings or Low Countries ; but mostly without the digamma, as Iste-ones, and Hermi-ones, &c. and the Treres, and * Trere-ones. By adding the termination aite, or ates, to the word Fen or Ven, is made the appellative of the Venaitæ, a people who settled in the swampy fens and marshy coasts. By compounding aitæ with the word *Cyn* prefixt (which signifies so prefixt, primary or first) is made the appellative Cynaid,

* Strabo, lib. i.

or Cynhait, the first or spring swarm, or princely swarm, which became the appellative of a colony settled on the extreme western coasts of Europe, mentioned by Herodotus, and by him named *Κυνήται or Cyn-aitæ. By annexing this term *ait* or *haid* to the name Viçt, Piçt, or Fiçt, is made the word Fiçtaid, the appellative by which the Welch called the settlements and settlers of the Piçts : by compounding this word, signifying swarm, or tribe, with the prefix Ma—, is made the appellative of the hither-tribes, clans, or settlers mentioned by Camden, under the appellative Maaitæ, discriminating those tribes who lived on the south side the Highlands of Calidonia. The people, who afterwards assumed the national name *Lydi*, were also originally called by the relative appellation Maiônes or the hither inhabitants. Λυδοὶ οἱ πότε Μηῶνες, Strabo, Lib. 11. p. 185. Hence also the Tanaitæ (or Ta^genaid) near the Mæotic. Hence the 'Sarmatæ? hence the Attrab-ates, the Cal-ates, and Callones ; hence also in Aquitania the Nann-ates, the Cocof-ates, Voc-ates, Tarun-ates, Tolof-ates, the Eluf-ates, Sibutz-ates, et Soli-ates. The

* Ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Κελτῶν οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς Ἡλίαν δυσμέων, μείλ' αὖ Κυνήτας, αἵχμασι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ.

Herod. Lib. 4. c. 49.

Antiquary will also find it useful, in his etymology, to remember the prefixes Ma—, Mais—, Mafs— ; and Es; the three former always, when prefixed to the name of a people or region, means the position on the hithermost side of some relative mark or line ; and the latter Es, a position over, beyond, or on, the farther side of such relative. The Greeks used both these, and especially ες, as in ἑχαιτος and ἑσπερος, &c.

When now this essay proceeds in its attempt, as in a prefatory commentary, to collect the scattered fragments of the first progressive settlements of the Cymri, Cimmerii, or Cimbri ; and whilst it only endeavours to trace this one branch of the first inhabitants of Europe, through the processions of their generations and habitation ; I must hope it may not be understood as though I aim in this essay to write their history. The purpose of this research is not to form an history, but to trace such conjectural lines, and to lay before the Antiquarian reader such theorems stated thereupon, as may give, in some degree, lead to his learned investigations, and afford some means of recomposing the broken and scattered fragments
to

to some semblance of their original actual structure.

These Cymric as well as the Teytisch tribes, or clans, were, originally, when known in the East, on the coasts and borders of the Euxine Sea, and Mœotic Lake *, rovers and predatory free-booters.

Those who dwelt to the Northward † on the waters, in the marshes, and fens, were ‡ fishermen § and ἰχθυόφαγοι, di-

* Προσιδάνιος, κ' ἔκαστος, εἰκάζει ὅτι λήστροι οἱ ὄντες κ' πλάνητες οἱ Κίμδροι, κ' μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν ποιήσαντο στρατείαν. Strabo, lib. vii. p. 293.

† κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θαλάσσην. Herod. lib. iv. c. 13.

‡ Οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσιν ἰχθυοφάγῳσι ἀμπεύονται δὲ τὰ τῶν φωκῶν δέρματα τῶν ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνατρεχουσῶν. Οἱ δὲ πεδινοὶ καὶ περ' ἔχοντες χώραν, ἔ γεωργῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ περὶβάτων κ' ἰχθύων ζῶσι Νομαδικῶς, κ' Σκυθικῶς. Εἰς γὰρ τις κ' κοίτη ἡ διαίτα πάντων τῶν τοιαύτων. Strabo, lib. xi. p. 513.

Detracta velamina [sciz ferarum] spargunt maculis: pellibusque belluarum quas exterior oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Tacit. de Mor. Germ., § 17.

Εἴμι δ' ἐγὼ γεγαῦνα μέσον θνήτῃ τε θιάστῃ

Νύμφης ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ' αὖ Κνταφάγοιο.

Fr. gm. Eryn ni Hierophylæ, apud Pausaniam, lib. x.

§ ἡ γὰρ ἰχθυόφαγος, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἰχθυόφαγος, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι οὐτ' αὐτόμοδος γύνη ἀπλετοὶ Κνταφάγοιο μεγάλα ἀνάκοντα. τὰ ἀστακτοῦ καὶ ἑσίου, παρέχεται ἐς Ταραχέουσιν. Herod. Lib. iv. c. 53.

There was also a little y of a lesser sort of fish called Πέλαγος, which was a fish of passage, coming from the North in great shoals, which the inhabitants of the Euxine caught for salting. See Strabo, lib. vii. p. 340. There was also a cockle or oyster, or fish in Ep. rus. Ibid. p. 327. One article of commerce for which the Greeks traded to the lake Maeotis was salt-fish, αἱ ταραχέαι. Ibid, p. 311.

stinguished

tinguished by their occupation and food from the hunter and pastor. The places which these Northern people occupied abounded with fish: and they had learnt the art of curing and preserving it by salt *; which provision, so prepared, they called by a technical name *Taracheusis*. Situation and circumstances point out to man the occupation which is to support his life. Man is, in the natural course of his being, always the same thing, under the same circumstances. The Cimbri driven from their original situation into the same kind of situation in the islands of the Sinus Codanus, in the † Cimbric Cher-

* See the last note in the preceding page.

† This was originally, and continued to be in the earliest times, an island separated from the main-land or continent. The people, who came from these parts to Calidonia and Ireland, were, by the Caledonians and Irish, said to come from *Lock-Lyn*, the island in the lake. See on this point the very learned Memoire of the Abbe Mann, wherein he, from fact, describes the ancient state of the Low Countries, as also his *Carte-hydrographique* in the first volume of the Memoirs of the Imperial and Royal Academy at Bruxelles. He takes from the fact a scientific analysis of the levels and nature of the tides on that coast. He also makes a collective investigation of discoveries of the vestiges of ports and havens in parts, far within what is now land: hence, he not only proves that the tides must have overflowed these levels, and that this tract must have been sea; but he actually traces the line of the shore, properly called the Saxon shores, as it ran at that time. This very learned, scientific, and ingenious, treatise, should be read by every Antiquary and Historian, who wishes to understand the topography and geography of the Roman History.

sonesus,

sones, and in the Western isles, became, of course, a marine and naval people. If at the same time the Antiquary examines the situation of the Teutsch tribes on the sea coasts of the main land, (still upon their flanks on the South), he will find them in a situation somewhat similar, though not the same: He will find them under circumstances which would naturally, and did in fact, make them *watermen* and fishermen; but not such as to lead directly to marine navigation. The Cimbri dwelt in the sea: the Teuts, or Teyts, in rivers, on lakes, in vliets, fens, and marshes. The Cimbri, therefore would, as they did, first become a *naval power*. And, although hitherto they had been repressed by the Teuts, they did, in this character, and by this power, recoil upon their oppressors; and, in process of events, acquired the ascendant power of conquest over them.

As we have said that it is the site and circumstances of a country which originally form the occupation, and, in consequence, the character, of the inhabitants; the antiquary, perhaps, may not be unwilling to review the accounts, which may be collected, of the antient state of the country, forming the North-western shores,

shores, called afterwards the Saxon shores. For my own part, I do it with the more pleasure, as it confirms the *local* description drawn out by my friend the Abbé Mann.

The whole North-western part of the continent of Europe, north of the line of high-land, as drawn by that learned Academician from the heights of Bologn, by Bruxelles, Lovain, and Tongres, between Bonne and Cologne, and by Berlin to Dantzic *, was a compound of fens and marshes; of vliets, lakes, and marine baies, running amidst a country †, in
few

* Ambæ nationes (sciz. Fresiorum) Rheono prætexuntur et ambiunt immensos insuper lacus.

Tacit. de Mor. Ger. § 34.

Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent.

Ibid. § 38.

*Saxones gentem in Oceani littoribus, et paludibus inuisitam.—Paulus Diacon, Lib. xii. § 2.

Sueionum civitates ipso in Oceano, præter viros armaque, classibus valent.—Tacit ut supra, § 43. Tacitus says in general of the coast—Cætera Oceanus ambit latos sinus, et insularum immensa spatia complectans, § 1.

† Dives agri provincia [sci. Fresia confinis Juliæ] et pecoribus opulens; ceterum confinis oceano patet humilis, ita ejus solum interdum æstibus eluatur. Qui ne irrumpan, vallo littus omne percingitur: quod si fortè perfregerint, inundant campos, vicos et sita demergunt. Hyeme continuo celatur æstu, stagni speciem prebentibus campis. Unde et in quâ rerum parte locanda fuerit penè ambiguum natura fecit: cùm aliâ anni parte navigationis patiens,

few parts, whole year land, except by the defence of banks, or in the islands. Those parts, which were not so artificially defended, and made land, were covered with water the greatest part of the year, and always at the periods of spring-tides ; and, even where they were embanked in, they were liable to breaches in their defences *
by

aliâ aratri capax existit. Quem palustrem primùm et humidum longo duravere cultu.

Saxo Grammaticus, lib. iv. He gives the same account of Friesland. *Æstûs reflexionis vis, plus utilitatis an periculi incolis afferat ambiguum est : siquidem tempestatis magnitudine præruptis æstuariis, quibus apud eos maritimi fluctus intercipi solent, tanta arvis undarum moles, incedere consuevit, ut interdum non solum arborum culta, verum etiam homines cum penetibus obruat.*

Idem in præfat. ad Historiam.

* If a hard gale of wind, at West, has blown for some time before the coming on of the spring-tides, especially those of the equinoxes and solstices ; and if that gale changes by the East, as is commonly the case at the clearing up of such, just at the time of high water coming in to the German ocean ; from the coincidence of these circumstances, the height of the tide, which comes in, rises from eight to eleven feet above the average level of the low lands, on all sides of this sea ; overtops their banks ; and generally breaks them. Persons conversant with philosophic inquiries will see [vide Governor Pownall's Treatise on the currents in the Atlantic, printed for Sayer] that such a coincidence of circumstances cannot regularly or frequently happen. There are, however, records, in every country on these seas, of such tides happening repeatedly at times, and those not distant ones. I here refer to the Dykereeve records on both sides this ocean. There was a very ancient tradition that one of these great raging tides drowned all the Cimbric
and

by those extraordinary raging tides, which were, and are in our days, repeatedly experienced from time to time, in the Northern ocean; and which, exceeding and over-topping all ordinary defence, always occasion general inundations.

From the marshy and fenny nature of this habitancy the inhabitants had various appellatives given to them, or assumed by them; as *Æstui*, *Ingli*, *Morini*, *Vene-*

and Teutonic coasts; and gave occasion to that great emigration, the emigrants of which invaded the Roman empire. Strabo mentions it, but not having a local knowledge of these seas, and of these extraordinary raging tides, but reasoning from the ordinary flux of the tides, which, he says, being a matter of common notoriety, the people must have been prepared for, and provided against, denies the probability of the fact of such an accident. Had he known, from written and personal experience, from which the writer of this note reasons, the circumstances and effects of these extraordinary tides, whatever credit he might have given to, or withheld from, this tradition, on other grounds, he would have been convinced that his reasoning on it was unfounded.

It was one of these great extraordinary tides in the month of September, which had well nigh destroyed the whole of Julius Cæsar's fleet drawn up on the shore of Britain. Those naval people who transported the army over, being perfectly acquainted with the nature and set of the tides, both ordinary and spring tides, as appears in the circumstances of the landing, would of course, when they drew their vessels on-shore, draw them above the flow of the highest spring-tides which rise at this season; but these extraordinary raging tides, occasioned by the causes above referred to, exceed and baffle all calculation, as happened in the accident which befel these transports.

dæ, as also Marſi, (Strabo,) or Marſhmen. We find alſo (according to Lyſcandèr) Teutomarſi, Storemarſi, Villimarſi, Crempe-marſi, on the Southern borders of Cimbria. When afterwards ſome of the Cimbri, in conſequence of their irruptions above referred to, ſettled on theſe marine coaſts, they were called Se-cambri (*proximi oceano Cimbri*), in contradiftinction to the Cimbri Mediterranei.

The geographers and hiſtorians gave to ſome of thoſe people, who occupied theſe low land regions, the appellative * *Ingevones*; which word formed of *Ing*, a meadow, and *ônes*, from woner, to dwell, means the dwellers on the Ings.

Laſtly, this country was called Flanders, or rather Vlanders, from Vloan, and Vliet, overflown meadows: and the people Flan-mannes, or Floan-andres.

† There would be no end of quoting authorities for ſaying that theſe countries abounded

* Ingevones, quarum pars Cimbri, Teutones, et Chaucorum Gentes. Plinii. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. iv. c. 14.

† Ita piſcibus frequens exiſtit, ut haud minus alimentorum indigenis; quam agetur omnis exſolvere videatur.—Tantâ
finus

abounded with fish, on which, as the great main article of food, the people subsisted; but it is worth notice *, that they understood and practised the method of boiling salt for use.

The history of these people is at the same time but one continued proof in example on fact of their abundant population; a physical consequence of their circumstances of life, and of this food.

Tribes of people not yet in a perfect state of civil organization and subordination to government, living in such situations, and under such circumstances, becoming marine hunters and navigators, have always become, in the progress of that character, sea-rovers, and pirates; in like manner as uncivilized tribes, dwelling in forests, and of course becoming sylvan hunters, become prædatory free-booters. They became such, not against but on

sinus omnis piscium frequentia repleti consuevit, ut interdum impacta navigia vix remigii conamen eripiat.

Saxo Gramm. Præfat. ad Hist.

* This circumstance is incidentally mentioned by Saxo, giving an account of Hiarno's disguised situation, when he prepared to have assassinated Freidleve. *Se quidem decoquendi salis opificem professus inter fordioris ministerii tamulos ignobilia exequabatur officia. Lib. vi. p. 99.*

principle *, such as it was. The same spirit arising from an internal sense of power (every where the same) throughout all natures, which renders the beasts of prey in the sea, the air, and in the forests, destroyers and devourers of the helpless, harmless herds, flocks, and shoals, prompted man (also a beast of prey) to consider those of his own species, who were quiet in spirit, and weak in force, as his natural prey : the fruits of whose labour, as they would that of the horse or ox, they assumed, from power, a right to take ; and whose lives also, if such crossed upon their line of adventure, so as in the least to be obstructive to it, they equally, as a thing of course, took away †. These men bearing upon each other, wherever they met, in the insufferent spirit of rivalry, and deciding all competitions and contentions by blood, lived in a state of perpetual war. Such, in fact, is the equality and the rights of man. The reasoning ‡, however, of
the

* *Quarum ea ratio est ut inter belluas in agris et saltibus, in aquis inter pisces, et in æthere inter volatilia, imbecilliora quæque præda sunt ferocioribus. Ita ducendum inter homines barbaros. Crantz. Lib. i. Valdal. c. 7.*

† See the story of Horwandillus and Colerus, as a striking example of this. Saxo Gramm. Lib. iii. p. 48.

‡ *Sed hæc piraticæ species certis constat legibus, non enim quosvis imbelles, aut navigatione victum quærentes, obruebant,*

the beast-man, the hunter, distinguishing as in his hunt *vermin* from *game*, (a distinction subsisting at this day amongst sportsmen,) so, in his warfare, the subjected labourer from the object of war, led these pirates to distinguish, as the proper objects of their attack, those who bore arms at sea from those who only sought and worked their livelihood therein. It was a law of arms with them * not to spoil the landworker or merchant; the taking, however, from them, in a case of necessity, such articles of subsistence as they wanted, was an exception: not to rob women, however opulent; nor to force them against their will on-board their ships; nor

obruabant, ii qui *Vikingorum* titulo superbiabant, sed hostes saltem, aut eos quos sciebant hâc arte celebres et præstantes, quique opem ingentem vim bello maritimo conquissiverant. Olaus Wormius. Monam. Dan. ad Saxum Triledensem, p. 269.

* Colonos vel mercatores nemo spoliato. quantum verò, necessitate urgente, ad alimenta requiritur sumito. Fœminis quantumvis opulentis nihil eripito; nec invitas ad naves educito. Fœminæ et imbecillis ætas captivitate exemptæ.

Herman Torfæi Hist. Nervey, lib. iv. c. 4.

These are some of the articles of war, or laws of nations (if they may be so called) amongst a people, for whom at the same time, the following regulations also were necessary: Crudis carnibus nemo vescitor, vel pretextu expressi per pannum sanguinis lupis quam hominibus similibus more. In the same author I find another regulation about their arms. Nemini fas gladium ulno longiorem gerere: cominùs cum hoste congredi oportuit. Id. Ibid. lib. iv. and vi. c. 3.

to reduce the female or the infant to captivity. They thus made a distinction between piracy and robbery. War, open war against the one was honourable ; any attack upon the latter, other than using, where they wanted such, the fruits of their labour, was base, and beneath the spirit of a Vickander ; whose sword would be dishonoured by the blood of these. And from such reasoning arose *their law* of arms and nations.

I need not amass a heap of quotations to prove that this spirit and character uniformly existed in, and actuated such people, under such circumstances *, who held agriculture a servile or a feminine labor, and who held it more suited to the spirit of a man, to make his acquisitions by his blood rather than by his sweat.

* ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, Γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀσιμώτατον· τὸ δὲ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληϊσμοῦ κάλλιστον. Herod., lib. v. c. vi.

Ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις πλεον καὶ κατὰ λήσσαν η ἐμπορίαν..

Strabo, lib. i. p. 48.

Nec arare terram, aut expectare annum, quam vocare hostes, et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quinimò et iners videtur, sudore acquirere, quod pocis sanguine parare.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

Antiquitus piratica honesta et licita erat atque in eâ se crebrò reges ipsi, aut eorum liberi exercebant ascitis famosis et fortissimis Athetis. Moris enim olim fuisse refert, regis filiis regium tribuere ut primum pirati eam exercere cœperunt.

Olaus Wormius de Saxo Tireledensi.

This

* This species of sea-rover or pirate, in the national estimate of character, was held honourable, and of the first rank. Not only adventurers of private rank took to this course for their maintenance, and to make acquisitions of fortune: but people of the first rank in the nation, and even kings themselves engaged in these enterprizes and excursions. Kings used to send out their best warriors, and oftentimes their sons on these piratical enterprizes. And frequently these heirs of kingdoms, during the lives of their fathers, would voluntarily desire to be sent out as pirates. This *imperium Pelagi* was considered, in those dominions where the crown was partible, as one portion of the inheritance; and even some time (there are instances of this) taken by the eldest son as the first. There was not an object of more glorious ambition, for a young hero, than to establish such a character of enterprize and bravery in this line as the most renowned Vickanders would enlist under, and be-

* *Antiquitus piratica honesta ac licita erat, atque in eâ se crebrò reges ipsi aut eorum liberi, exercebantur, ascitis famosioribus et fortissimis Athletis. Moris enim olim fuisse refert. Regiis filiis regium munus tribuere, ut primùm piraticam exercere cœperunt.*

Olaus Wormius de Saxo Tersedenfi.

come fellow-warriors to, in his band. This naval command took its rank on a level with the highest stations of dominion on the land, it was, not only the step to honour, but became the basis of the predominant power: and therefore was it, that some eldest sons of kings, who felt on experience the operation of this power, held this naval command as their own dominion, giving to their brothers (as reguli) the dominion of the land. On the other hand, individual adventurers of the lowest rank having been successful, and become powerful in this line, held up themselves, and were holden up, so high in rank of honour, that even kings did not think the giving of their daughters in marriage to them was any disparagement of rank. Examples of every instance here mentioned are repeatedly found in the history of these people.

These Vics, Vickanders (translated Piratæ), were at first, in the earliest times, independent bands of adventurers, engaged in cruising excursions. According to the example which we find in the course of human nature in this state of its progression, to be invariable, such bands formed them-

themselves under the absolute command of some *one*, under whom they enrolled themselves, and whom they chose as their war-captain, their *Vic*. The Sylvan Indians of America, who know not nor acknowledge any coercive power of civil government, do the same at this day. Their expeditions were only prædatory *, they fixed not any settled establishments, but merely at first took post on such temporary stations as suited the nature and season of their cruize. It appears from such accounts as are collected from runic monuments, in the history of these people, that the *Vic* and their *Vicanders*, of the Cymric tribes, were the first, prior to the Teutisch tribes, who made their expeditions on the open seas. Similar bands of the Teutisch tribes did the same afterwards.

* Vide Hist. Hialmari, published by Peringskiold, with a Commentary. Nimirum paludosa initio cum suis incolebat loca, antequam sedes fixas sibi eligere; cæterum crebrò in piraticas expeditiones profectus, nominis sui gloriam in tantum auxit, ut omnibus quibus rerum gestarum memoriæ describebantur, laudari meruit.

————— Helgo, diviso cum fratre regno,
 Maris possessionem sortitus, varios Pelagi recessus
 Vago navigationis genere perlustrabat.

Saxo Gramm. lib. ii. p. 28.

The

The Cymric Vics began first to make their incursions on the Teutisch settlements amongst the marshes, fens, and vliets, and on the coasts of those tribes who had the name of 'Saxones ; and on the eastern shores of the Baltic. They then in process of time advanced into the ocean, and extended their courses to the Orcades and Northern coast of Scotland ; thence to the Western isles, and on the Western coasts. They were at first interrupted in their incursions upon the coasts of Ireland. The first settlement of the Picts, which is the same appellative as Vic, differently pronounced, that was made on the Western coasts of Scotland, had been first attempted on the coasts of Ireland. In later times they farther extended their expeditions to the South-eastern coasts of Britain, crossing from the Saxon shores, at the Streights of Dover, to the isle of Thanet, and to the coasts of the isle of Wight, or *Vectis*, so named from their appellative. They also extended their cruises ; and in later times (the Teutisch as well as Cimbric sea-rovers) made many settlements as naval stations, and afterwards as dwellings, on the Western coasts of what is now called France, also on the coast of Spain.

* The ships in which they made these excursions were navigated both by sails and oars : the least, which one reads of, carried twelve rowers, and as many fighting men : others an hundred, and some one hundred and fifty. They generally made their expeditions with a number of these, as a fleet.

One objection opposing itself to these long voyages arises from the idea of the victualling ; but this we have obviated. Another objection against those voyages across the open sea, beyond the sight of land from Scandinavia and the Baltic, a passage of at least seven days in their time, arises from the difficulty of conceiving how it was possible for these navigators to set and keep their course : an answer to that objection derives from the fact, that they did this *by the flight of birds*. It is almost unnecessary to state that birds of passage cross the German ocean twice annually, from the Continent to and from the British isles. Founded on this observation these navigators framed their course, in taking their departure, from the course

* Hujus minima ratis quæ bifenos veheret naucicos, totidemque remigiis agi possit. Saxo Gram. lib. iv. p. 64.

Canutus Chentelum suum sex millium numerum excellentem sexaginta navigiis cultius apparatis, quolibet centenos armatos capiente, distinxit. Saxo. Lib. x. p. 197.

which

which they had observed these birds to take at their emigration. They took with them on-board several birds, sometimes hawks, but generally ravens. When having made some progress in this course, and out of sight of land, if they were in any doubt of, or wished to set their course to the point where the land lay, they let fly one of these birds; these, after mounting high aloft in the air, always took their course to land, and so became their pilots; following whose line of flight the navigators steered their course. The following narrative supports this. Flocco, an Orcadian, setting out on a voyage to discover Iceland, took with him three ravens. In taking his departure from the Orcades, he set his course North; after being out at sea, he let fly one of his ravens; this returned back to the Orcades: he still persevered in his course, and let fly a second; this returned to the vessel: still persisting, he let fly the third; this went off directly North, and never returned. Flocco followed this course, and arrived at land. This navigator acquired, from this measure, perhaps a novelty to the people of the Orcades, the surname of Raf'na-Flocco. This use of the pilot-raven, common to the Danes and navigators

gators from the Baltic, gives the reason of their taking the raven for their standard.

There is another story of one of these adventurers, who, when out at sea, in the German ocean, and off the English coast, let fly a hawk, who made directly for the land, either Suffolk or Norfolk, as now called. This navigator steered after this his pilot, his course, and fell in with the land. He pretended only to follow his hawk, and to recover it; but his real design was to spy the land.

The apologue of the Argonautic expedition, under reference to this use made of the flight of birds, relates the circumstance of the pilot of the Argonauts sending off a dove to precede the Argos, on a trial of the passage through the Straights of the Cyanian Rocks. Lib. ii. p. 563.

The narrative (whether in apologue or fact) of a similar transaction, hath the same reference. Noah let fly from the ark a raven and two doves, on an experiment of exploring land, and formed his judgment on the issue of the experiment.

These

These corresponding narratives are something more than curious.

However accounts in the earliest periods inform us that the navigators of long voyages steered by observation also of the *sun* and the *star* ; the *load-star*.

In the early defective state of civil government, which went merely to the æconomical regulations of the family, or hord, these adventurers acted upon their own authority : and the *Vic*, or War-captain, was supreme, each over their own respective bands: the command was absolute as a military power ; and when they took post on any station, or finally settled on any established dwelling, they continued, as still under military organization, this command.

This the antiquary may suppose, and I believe will find, was the origin of Clanship and * Tanistry, and of the despotic spirit of these modes of government, if they could be so called.

These sea-rovers assumed the appellative *Vic*, or *Vig*, as a war name ; as also, in a body, that of *Viks*, *Vigs*, *Viggands*, *Vi-*

* That is, the government of the *Tanes*, or *Thanes*, as herein after explained.

kingers,

kingers, and Vicanders, transcribed by the Latin writers variously, and translated Piratæ. Those who have read the *Treatise on the Mode of studying Antiquities*, to which this is a second part, referring themselves to the appendix, No. I. will see there described, and explained, the distinctive power in sound of the Glôtalls K, G, and Y, or open G*, [*Y* open, *ŷ* shut and asperated as our common vulgate *g* as also of the labials P, B, V, F, and their interchangeable use: He will there see the nature and application of the digammas; first, the guttural catch; also secondly, the asperate surcharge; and will very readily conceive how the various manners, in which this word hath by divers people been pronounced and written, might take place, namely, Vic, Vig, Wig, Pic, Viç†,

* Olaus Wormius, in the sixth book of his *Danish Monuments*, gives a fragment of an inscription (Inscrip. vi) that hath this word so written on it, '*Lapidem hunc possit Pic.*'

† *Getæ omnes Basilicæ et Schytæ sunt peritissimi, arma simul et tormentis; sed Cimbrici Ficti sunt hautâ gladio et vinulicis spigis bellum fortiter cientes. Et cum legimus diversas historias, migrationes etiam gentium antiquas consideramus, hinc prodisse Fictos et Fictos qui Anticæ et digladiatores appellantur.*

Lyfcandri Antiq. Dan. Sermone 3tio.

This quotation shews that the word *Pic* was an appellative and war name, although it does not give the true derivation.

Fiðt, Piðt, Peaght, Petæ, Vita,* Wight. Under all these names are these sea-rovers found mentioned. Be it here remarked and remembered, that this word was originally only an appellative, and no more the name of a people or nation than the word Pirata. After they became settled, this, under most of its variations, and with its various compounds, might and did become the *name* of a people; as Picti, Pictones, Vicingi, Vectæ, Vectones, Victores, Vettæ, Vettes, Vicingi, Victuriones.

This word also sometimes simply, at other times in the compound, becomes an appellative, or cognomen, to several of their leaders, even to one of their kings. Froto secundus cognomine Vig-etus. Vitto Frisiorum pirata; also Viðt-red, Viglet, Guit-lac, Vit or Wit-lac, Viggo, and others of the like import. From this same Cymric or Cimbric root comes also Viigur, the adjective *fortis*; also the Teu-

* Thus, while at this day the North-Britons pronounce the word *eight* (octo) with the g shut and asperated, the South-Britons pronounce it with the open g or y, as *eyht*; so the word *Wight*, and *Vett*, or *Veght*, is pronounced Wiyht; and Vita, as also *Peta*, by different authors; and even sometimes thus differently by the same author.

tisch, or Saxon, compound Wig-huis, a strong house or castle, and Wig-stow, a camp.

This word Vic, in its radical and prime signification, was not unknown in the Latin language : it is found even in Virgil. *Æn.* II. p. 433.

Testor in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ullas
Vitavisse *vices* Danaum.

Which word Servius in his Commentary explains, *pugnas et Isidorus narrat vicam dixisse pro victoriam*. That some word signifying the same thing, and derived from the same root, was not unknown to Tacitus, although now lost out of the text, appears more than probable.

In giving an account [de moribus Germ. § 2.] of the origin of the appellative *Germanus*, he says it was an appellative or title lately assumed. Ita nationis nomen non gentis evaluisse paulatim. Ut omnes primò [] a *victore* ob metum, mox à seipso invento nomine, Germani vocarentur. All the commentators allow this passage, as it stands now in the text, to be very defective, and not very intelligible ; and they make various unsuccessful attempts to explain it ; some have cor-

D 2

rected

rected Victore for Victis. Now it appears to me that if the critic will put the word Vic, or Vict, in the place where I have put the crotchets, the appellative by which they were known to the Gauls, when first they crossed the Rhine, the passage will not only be plainly intelligible but will give the account, in fact, of these people, thus, “ Ut omnes primùm [*Victi* or *Vigti*] *a victore* (or as it is in some MSS *victis*) ob metum, mox a seipso invento nomine Germani vocarentur. They were at first, through fear, called victs, or pirates; afterwards these people assumed a more honourable name of themselves, and were called Germans, that is *Warr-men*, or warriors. The Gauls, or Celts, (if you please, as they were in the most early times) had been used to suffer by the incursions of the *Vics*, it was therefore natural from the impression which these invaders excited, when they crossed the Rhine, that the inhabitants should call them *Vics* or *Victs*, Piratæ.

When the communities of these nations were organized in the form of civil government; and whole countries became kingdoms under a sovereign power; the kingdoms sent out such parties of Pirates,
or

or Vicanders. These commanders being no longer independent, but acting under a delegated power, then first (as I think I can discover) took the title of *Degans*, or *Thag'ns*, pronounced by us *Thanes*, and *Danes*, signifying a leader, as may be seen repeatedly on the Runic stones. These kings used to send out their best warriors, and frequently their sons, either to make establishments, or to reconnoitre and prepare for such, in foreign parts. Whenever these *Thegans*, or *Dhagens*, made their establishments, and settled, they continued the same command, as under the same delegated authority, and assumed a title which the Latin writers of their history translated *Reguli*; hence the multiplicity of kings which we read of, at these times, in so many different places. The constitution (if such may be called a constitution) of these petty clans or colonies, was called *Thanelagen*, by a name which is continued, in Ireland to this day, in the word *Tanistry*.

Before this essay proceeds in its attempt to trace the very interesting history of these sea-rovers called *Ficts*, by the Welsh the *Fiëtiad*, and *Picts*, a people so little understood; we will, if the reader pleases,

recur back to an enquiry after the inhabitants of Britain, originally as well as primarily adventitious, upon whom these sea-rovers made their incursions, and amongst whose borders they afterward settled.

The Cymric tribes, called Cimbri, dwelling on the sea, became naturally, as well as of necessity, a marine people and navigators. The antiquary will find them in the earliest ages of the world's inhabitancy, passed over to Britain, and dwelling there. Tribes of the Teutisch race, the Folc, Volc, or Bolg, pronounced by the Romans Belgæ; passed also over from the lower parts of Gaul to the Southern parts of Brittain (some say from Spain also, to Ireland) in the very first ages. These emigrations of Cymric and Teutisch tribes differing *at first* in their language, merely as by a dialect of the same, and coming in very different directions, were the first known inhabitants of this our island, so as to have been considered as the Indigenæ*.

Speaking in the next place of the adventitious inhabitants who came hither,

* *Brittones olim impleverunt Britanniam et judicaverunt à mari ad mare, id est, à Totenefs ad Cattenefs.*

Nennius, c. 3.

after

after these primary inhabitants were settled, I shall mention first, though the latest *longo intervallo*, the Vir-bølg or Belgæ, Teutisch tribes, become, by long separation, totally different from the Cymric. These passed over into Britain about 60 or 70 years before the time of Julius Cæsar, and possessed the South-eastern and Southern parts of the island, and pent up the Cymri, in Cornwall, that is to say, in Devon and Cornwall, the Irish remaining at that time undisturbed, by whomsoever it was inhabited.

This fact then thus settled out of our way, so as to have no occasion to recur again to it, we will commence our inquiry after the *earliest adventitious* inhabitants, by restating that this island was possessed by the Cymric and Dteusch tribes, under the common name of Britons, as the first inhabitants. Now those tribes of the Teutisch, called Belgæ, which we have before seen, dwelt on the Southern coasts of the Baltic, and who, as deriving their generation from *Gott-teus*, took the patronymic appellation *Cotti, Gotti, Gothi, or Codi
(from

* There are accounts in the Gothland Antiquities of a migration of these people, occasioned by the increase of population exceeding the disproportion of the supply. One third part were destined to emigrate; and a Thegan, or leader, was appointed to conduct and command them:

(from whose name the Baltic was called Sinus Codanus, or Cottanus) may be considered as the first *adventitious settlers* in Britain. These advancing in the procession of their generations and habitancy in the rear, and upon the flanks of the Cymri, in the same manner as they had done upon the Continent, having become, in the process of time, marine navigators also, followed the Cymri into the Orcades, the Northern parts of Scotland, the Western isles, and at length into Ireland and Britain. The reader will observe, that this essay is here speaking of the early migrations by which these almost Western parts of Europe became inhabited, not of the piratical incursions of the Picts or Vics, of much later date. Ammianus Marcellinus informs us [Lib. xxvii. c. 8.] that the Atta-Cotti, Bellicosissima Gens, and [Es-Cotti] 'Scotti were found there *. Nennius relates, as an

they resisted at first, and their leader was killed. Helguo, a second leader, was appointed; they migrated by sea in a great fleet of ships. Vide Nicol. Petreus. Lyschander and Olaus Wormius. This migration is by the Gothic and Danish chronologists, placed A. M. 2500.

* Brittones venerunt in tertiâ ætate mundi ad Britanniam, Scythiæ autem (id est (1) Scotti) in quarta ætate mundi ob-
rinnuerunt Hiberniam. Nennius.

(1) The Cambro-Brittons, says Mr. Carte, called them
Ys Cotti.

historic

historic fact, what this essay states only as a conjecture, the order and succession of the emigrations of the Cymric tribes, called, when settled, Britons, and of the Teutisch adventitious inhabitants called 'Scotti. * Tacitus also informs us that the *Æstui*, one of these Baltic tribes, spoke the same language as the Britons; † and that the red hair, and frame of body of the Britons, bespoke them as being of this Teutisch race. This essay will therefore venture to state the 'Scotti as emigrants, from the Cotti, (afterwards called Gothi, who possessed the coasts of the Baltic,) and therefore called Atta-Cotti, *progenies Cottica*, a word compounded of the generical name *Cottus*, and *Ætte*, written on the Runic monuments *Etiar*, progenies, familia, or race, ‡ the Ys-Cotti or Es-Cotti, pronounced 'Scotti, a word, which when the prefix Es is added to it, means the re-

* Dextro Suevici maris littore æstuorum gentes alluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior. Tacitus de Mor. Germ. § 45.

† Caterùm Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerunt indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutile Calidonium habitantium comæ, magnique artus Germanicam originem asseverunt.

Tacit. de Vita Agricola, § 11.

‡ ————— in remotissimis Scotiæ finibus.

Saxo Gram.

mote,

mote, utmost, or external, Cotti, dwelling beyond, or over the mountains, or other relative boundary; and meant here, particularly the Cotti, who dwelt in the Orcaades, in *Cat-nefs* and *Strathnarvern*, * on the other side, or over the Highlands; as also the Western Cotti †, whether in *Hibernia* or *Calidonia*.

History gives us an account of one '*Scot-tus*, a friend and brother-in-law of Frotho, the first king of the Danes, living in these parts, as the remotest parts—*qui et ipse Scottici nominis conditor fuit*. I quote this, not as coinciding with my opinion of the fact, for I am convinced the name is of much earlier date, but simply to state that the Cotti were in these remote parts called

* In remotissimis Scotiae finibus. Saxo Gramm.

† I do not here enter into the dispute, in which the Scots and Irish are engaged, whether the 'Scots passed from Ireland to Scotland, or from Scotland to Ireland: both these people, the Calidonian and Irish Scotti, came from the Cotti of the Baltic, and were both adventitious. I am not ignorant of the traditionary story of the emigrants, supposed to have come from Spain to Ireland, and to have settled in the Southern parts of it. That such, if any such thus emigrated, were *Celts*, might easily be proved; but when the ancient Irish historians call them 'Scotti, (if they mean more by that word than the general appellation Scythians) I cannot but think that they have been inadvertently led to confound them with the Cotti, who came from the Baltic, and settled in the *Northern* parts of Ireland.

Ys,

Ys, or Es-Cotti, pronounced 'Scotti, at this time near 700 years before Christ.

Having thus endeavoured to state the processions and succession of migrations to, and the inhabitancy of, the British isles, the essay now returns to its endeavour to form some account of the sea-rovers of the Northern parts of Europe, who, in process of time, became A VERY GREAT NAVAL POWER.

The ancient stone monuments, in the Runic inscriptions, on which the names of several of these Vics and Dag'ns, or Thag'ns, remain; and on some of which* their actions are recorded, are living testimonies, that such men and such things were. Many of the actions of individuals, and transactions of the people, are related in the ancient poems; these are mixed, no doubt, with fable, but founded on truth. The Antiquary knows that it was part of the civil institution of these people to record and transmit their history in the *Viisur* of the Scaldri; and that it was part of the pomp and circumstance of their war to have some of these recording

* For instance that they made their incursions on Britain, also on Aquitain.

poets in their suite. From these monumental records and traditionary poems, their earliest historians derived their facts : and the commentaries of their most learned antiquaries have drawn forth these testimonies into proof. This, surely, is as good, if not better, ground of evidence than any from which the Greek or Roman historians derived the accounts which they give of the early fabulous periods ; and perhaps one may add, of some of those early times which they give as historic. These accounts are discredited by their own writers : and therefore, separating fable from fact, I never hesitated to give a preference of credit to these Northern histories beyond what I can give to the story of Æneas, being the founder of the Roman nation, &c. &c.

The Cymric tribes having become by their maritime situation in an island, the island of Scandinavia, marine navigators, soon began to exercise the power which this gave them, as Sea-rovers, Vics, Vigs, Viggands, &c. And thus * this people, who

* Hablingus, Varalungi filius Gothlandiæ præses,

Celebris fuit octavus Cimbrorum judex nomine Ingwarus. Gothic Annales.

Hanguarus frater Hablingi, Gothlandiæ principis, et Gunderus, germanus Inguari propè Siefvicam navali prælio

who had been at land, and on the Continent, always inferior to, and repressed by the Teutisch tribes, under this form of power in their turn, recoiled upon the Teuts; made incursions upon them; fixed stations in their maritime borders, so as to make establishments in Gothland, and on the Saxon shores. They became, even in the earliest ages, an ascendant *naval power* in the Baltic, not then a Mediterranean sea; so as that, when the Teutones and 'Saxones first commenced *their* naval courses in this way of sea-rovers *, these Cymric Vics settled in Gothland, repressed and restrained their piracies; they not only repulsed them from the sea, but at times held them subdued at land, and governed them, especially the Angles and

lio vicerunt Helmiconem fortissimum piratarum Theutoniarum et Slaviae.

N. B. J. Suaving quotes this from C. Lysander, and places it in his Chronology in the year 1547, before Christ.

* Hablingus dux Gothlandiae ad Theutones (qui tum primum piraticam exercebant) cum instructa classe emisit fratrem Hungarum. Is, assumptis in societatem belli et periculorum germanis suis Gerardo et Berchone, piratas insulas Carolinis ejecit; et navali pugna attritis hostiles eorum depredationes fortissimè repressit.

J. Suaving says, that the Gothic Annales place this fact in the year of the world 2394; but, quoting Claud. Lysander, he places it in the year 2420, and before Christ 1523.

'Saxones,

'Saxones, by Reguli or tributary kings, called Scots-conung : I have said, *at times*, for there were various fluxes and refluxes of the tide of conquest amongst these people, the Teutones, Angles, or 'Saxones, oftentimes making inroads, and sometimes even conquests on the Cimbric Chersonessus *. Finally, however, the Cimbri settled, as I have said, in Gothland, and on the Saxon shores, where history finds them under the name Scambri †. To give, *seriatim*, an account of these sea-rovers, of their prædatory expeditions, of their invasions, settlements, and conquests, would be writing the history of the first ages of these tribes and nations; for, by these War-captains, these Vics, and their Vicanders, as independant bands, were the first settlements and conquests made. But, howsoever indepen-

* Manifestum autem in sermonibus expeditionum fiat, omnes aquilonares gentes, et præcipuè eas quæ Chersonessum inhabitant, ad quas iter terrestre patet, incitatas bello occupasse vicina maritima ab Ablo ad Vistulam.

Ubi et versus ulteriora Tuisconitarum, ferè omnes gentes invenimus, quas jam in Cimbria recensuimus.

C. Lycander, apud Olaus Wormium, lib. v.

Eundem Germaniæ sinum Cimbri proximi oceano tenent.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 37.

† Some of these tribes were, from their situation, called Sicambri, as Rudbec says, Zee-cimbri.

Strabo et Plinius.

dent

dent these first adventurers were in their excursions and in their settlements, when the nation, whence they came, had in process of time acquired the unity, organization, and strength of government, the Imperium of that government, not only sent forth, as I have stated Dag'n's, or Thagn's, with delegated power to make foreign settlements; but reduced most of the independant settlements of the Vics to subjection under this power: either appointing Reguli over them, or making the actual existing ruler a tributary Scots-Coning. They called these settlements by a name which answers to the modern idea of colony or province, Thag'n-lands; whilst the Thag'ns paid Dag'n, or Thag'n-geld, or Scot; as the system of law by which they were governed was called Thag'n-legen, whence the power of the Laids of Clans, and that reliet of obsolete power called in Ireland *Tanistry*.

The Vics, Pics, Vicingers, &c. were, at first, as it seems to me, private* and independent

* Wherever these adventurers succeeded, and carried their measures to the point of making established settlements, they held the government of the Civil State (if that state could be called civil) as well as the command of the military: hence it is we find in the history of these people such a multitude of kings (I do not mean here reguli or viceroys)

dependent sea-rovers; although I think this appellative was afterwards used as the name of an office, similar to what we now call admiral.

The appellative Deg'n, or Theg'n, had generally reference to community and government, as holding *delegated* power under, or connected with, sovereign power; but neither was this always so at first, for it signified simply a leader, as may be seen in the Scoldingen inscription, *Herden Guden Diag'n*, which is literally exercitûs bonus *Dux*. This word, through the general indecision of spelling, and the promiscuous use of the letters of the same organ, has been written Dia-g-n, De-g-n, Dey-n, The-g-n, The-y-n, Dane, and in Latin Thanus, Dainus, T'anus, D'anus. By putting together all that one reads of this word in Olaus Wormius, and Ihre's Glossary, it appears that it originally meant a military man; next, *per excellentiam*, a commander, and finally *comes regni*, or a

viceroy) in one tract of country. Thirty of these kings, sequebantur Frothonem qui ipsum amicitia aut obsequio colerent. And again—Eo bello 170 reges qui aut ex Hunnis erant, aut inter Hannos militaverant submittere se regi.

Saxo Gramm. Lib. v. p. 89.

Harald Hyldetand 70 reges maritimos nauticarum virium certamine consumpsit.

Id. lib. viii.

Count, or a Governor of a Province, either by office or tenure. Another distinction between these two words occurs to me, that Vic and Vickin applies rather to a sea-command: and Tha-g-n, Tha-y-n, and Dane, to a command at land. Both at times will be found, in the history of these people, applied to self-created commands; and both also again to official commands, when the power of the nation concentrated into government. It will also be found, that both from *appellative titles* were, in the course of events, assumed as *national names*. Hence the *appellative* Vic, or Pict, became the *national name* of the Picts, when settled as a nation, in Scotland; and of Pictones and Victones in Poitou, and Vettones in Spain. This first name seems to have taken place in the settlements made under their marine power: and the latter name of Danes, when the Thegns of the Cimbri and Goths chose one supreme Thane, in Latin Danus. This was the first monarch of the people, who hence after took the national name of Danes. This fact is precisely and specifically related by Saxo Grammaticus.

The Cimbri Cotti, and other people of the Baltic, had communications, and alliances, and wars, with the British Isles in the very earliest times. They were great navigators; and Britain, under their state of navigation, was reckoned to be only seven days sail from their ports. How they set, and kept their course, out at sea, is explained in another part of this treatise. The history of these people gives accounts of the incursions which they made upon, and the settlements which they made in, the Orcades, the Western Isles, Scotland, and Ireland, from 800 years before the Christian æra to 1000 years after it.

The Vics*, or Pics, were the first private adventurers, and took that appellation as a national name when they settled in Scotland. When they were spoken of in the community, or as a body, they were called the *Vic-* or *Pic-Thiód*, from the word *Thiód*, used commonly in the compounds, and signifying *populus*, *communitas*. The Welsh, by changing P

* Johannis Fordune, in his History of the Scots (chap. 5.) describes *Scythia Inferior*, and says, “habet ab oriente mare Mediterraneum, quod ibidem Balticum dicitur, a Bath loco ubi terram intrat ab Oceano, à qua regione secundum quosdam Albigenſes, Picti, progreſſi ſunt.

into Ph, or F, called them *Fiētiad*. The Romans, many ages after, when they had occasions to know them by their incursions, called them *Piēti*, and *Piētones*, *Viēti*, *Viētionēs*, and *Vetionēs*. The Latin writers of the British History (as Cambden says) called them *Viccingi*. The Teuts and Saxons pronounced this name by dissolving the harsh guttural into the open one, and called them *Peayhtæ*, *Petæ*, and *Vitæ*.

Bede says *, and says very truly, that the *Piēts* came in long ships, from *Scythia* (meaning *Scandinavia* †.) The appellation, *Scyths*, was no longer applied to the *Teutisch* race, who, in his time were called *Germans*, in general; but, at the same time, the several people by their distinctive names. *Scyth* was only applied

* Contigit gentem *Pictorum* de *Scythia*, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis Oceanum ingressum.

Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Angliæ. L. 1. c. 1.

Inde *Scotiæ* & *Petiæ*, insularumque quas *Australes* et *Meridionales* vocant. Saxo Gram. Lib. 9, p. 171.

Piēti venerunt et occupaverunt insulas quæ *Orcades* vocantur. Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 5.

Piēti habitare per *Septentrionales* insulæ partes cœperunt. Beda ut supra.

† *Scytharum* nomen usquequaque transit in *Sarmatos* et *Germanos*: nec aliis prisca illa appellatio quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti propè cæteris mortalibus degunt.

Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. 4. c. 12.

to those who, beyond the historic horizon, were scarcely known to the civilized world. Nennius says, they first seized the Orcades; and, Bede adds, afterwards the northern parts of Britain.

That these Picts came at first as sea-rovers, and PIRATES, in their character of Vics and Vickanders, not as emigrating colonies, appears from their* company consisting only of men. When they took up the idea of settling, they obtained wives of the Scots *on this condition*, that, whenever there should arise a doubt as to the succession to the crown, they should chose their King (for, almost all Kings were then elective) from the female rather than the male line; which custom remained, as Bede says, to his time. This explains the reason and original cause of the government of the Picts falling finally into that of the Scots.

The Scotti being in settled possession of the northern parts of Ireland, at the time

* Uxores Picti non habentes peterunt à 'Scotis eâ solâ conditione, ut ubi res veneret in dubium, magis de fæminea regum profapia, quam de masculina, regem sibi eligerent. Quod usque hodiè apud Pictos constat esse servatum.

Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Angliæ. Lib 1. c. 1.

Hermathruda fæmina regnavit in 'Scotia; which is placed about 430 years before Christ.

Saxo Gramm. Lib. 3. p. 57.

that

that these Vickanders, Viks, Piks, or Piets, came, resisted their attempts upon that Island, but assisted then by their advice; and *, as should appear, by other means, to make their incursions upon the northern parts of Britain. These people were never, in their character of sea-rovers, or *Piëts*, in possession of any part of Ireland. Although afterwards, as *Thag'ns*†, they made perpetual incursions upon it, and had various connections and alliances with it. The first of these who came to Ireland, are said, by the Irish History, to come from the country *Fomoirë*, which is just the very place whence the Cotti came. Pœmore, or Fœmore, means marshy and fenny lands, and part of that country retains to this day this name, Pœmore-ania‡. When afterwards the Thagns from the

* 'Scoti remiserunt Piëtos ad septentrionales partes Britaniæ, opem contra Brittonas adversantes, si insurgerent, promittentes. Ranulph Higden. Lib. 1.

I refer the word 'Scoti here to the Irish—the reader will refer it as he pleases.

† I assume an authority for writing the name in this manner; first, as I find it so written of old in their own monuments; and next, as they themselves called the island Thanet, or Little Dania.

‡ Mor, Moer, Moor—Terra palustris, inde est quod Pomerania Slavonice dicta sit *Pomores*, à *po*, apud, et *mor*.—Flandri ex eadem causâ Morini olim appellati. Ihres's Sæcio-Gothic Glossary.

Cymbric Scandinavia had connections in Ireland, we hear of the later name *Lock-Lyun*, or the Island in the Lake.

These Viks, Piks, or Piets, under the name of Vittæ, or Vitæ*, which name they were called by, on the Saxon shore, possessed the the maritime parts of Kent, and the Isle of *Wight*, called Vectæ, Vita, Vicht, Wight, Wiyt, &c. also Petia.

The Reader will not expect, notwithstanding what Cambden is inclined to think, and what Innes has undertaken to prove; notwithstanding what Aufonius, Claudian, and Isidorus say; that we should now enter into the disproving that silly opinion of the Piets being so called from their *Tattooing* their bodies. Almost all uncivilized and half-clothed people have always done, and do still, the same. It was not peculiar to these people, as a race: the Britons should rather have had this appellative even though their language differed in dialect, both from the Britons and Scots, so far removed, as in time to

* Strabo, speaking of the Ἰάποδες. Lib. 7. p. 315. says, *κατάσκηλοι* [that is, literally, tattooed] *δ'ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυρίοις καὶ Θράξιν.*

become even a different language *. In the time of Bede it was become necessary to have five different translations of the Scriptures for the use of the inhabitants of Britain, viz. British, English, Scottish, Pickish, and Latin.

These Viks, Piks, Vikins, or Vikings, stopt not their courses in Britain, but pushed forward their expeditions along the coasts, on both sides the Channel. They could never make any permanent impressions on the Belgic coasts, or, if they were on those coasts before the Belgæ arrived, they were ousted thence. There were in the Roman times no traces of them there, the † Victores excepted. They are, however, found separate on the Coasts of Normandy, under Cimbric and Suio-gothic names; as ‡ Ambibares, Ambialites; and on the Coasts of Lower

* Hæc [scil. Britania] in presenti, juxta numerum librorum quibus Lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis & veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur & confitetur; Anglorum, videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, & Latinorum, quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis. Bedæ Hist. Eccle. L. I. c. I.

† Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent, & Heruli, Jovisque & Victores. Amm. Marcell. Lib. 27. c. 28.

‡ This is the name of a maritime, or naval, district, in the military division of a country. Ham signifies a certain quota of naval registered seamen (Ihre's Glossary) to be supplied by a certain district. Hence we find the Ambivari in the lower marine district of the Sceld.

Brittany, as a separate maritime people, by the names of Diablintes* and Venetæ†. They are found settled in the regions of the Loire, under the names Pict-ones, which means *settled Picts*: and, in general, on the Coasts of the Oceanus Aquitanicus, even in Spain under the appellative Vett-ones and Vectones ‡.

I have dared to assert that, that race of people, called Κυνήτας, from the Celtic word *Cynhaith*, who possessed the Western coasts of Europe, as mentioned by Herodotus, were some of those very sea-rovers; for, there are many reasons sufficient to state it as a conjecture, not unworthy the research of the antiquary. These Kuneetæ were certainly different from the Gallic Celts, in person, language, and manners: these did not advance over land before them; and must therefore have come by sea; they were equally different from the Belgæ: what therefore could they be but these Baltic sea-rovers. The very name given to the countries, wherein they set-

* Diablin is the same name, and of the same import, as Diaflyn, the name which they gave to the post of Dublin, in Ireland.

† Ven-aittæ means the tribes of Fenmen,

‡ Lucan, lib. 4. v. 8.

led, marks that the settlements were made by colonists, or tribes, of these people. The country of the Loire, which was settled by these, was called *Pictavia*. *Ach-y-Thegn* seems to be no unfair or much strained etymology of *Αχουϊταν*, and expresses, that it was the country possessed by *Tribes of Tanes*, or Danes.

Fact moreover confirms this conjecture *. The old Runic monuments, and the annals of these very people mention their expeditions and incursions into these countries †.

Fordun

* Ex hoc Hyperboreorum campo ingenti numero regum filii, ac Martis socii auspiciisque Neptuni militia tum in orbem prodierunt. Hispaniam regnaque alia devicârunt quarum rerum gestarum memoriam annales nostri Lapidæi Cippi hic delineati ab oblivione temporumque injuriâ vindicant. Periskiolde Monumenta Sueio-Gothica. Lib. 1. c. 1.

In the first section of the third chapter, he gives a drawing of a monument of Sigvid, who was a great invader of England. In the course of describing which, he says, “*Hujus exempla complura occurrunt.*” And, after mentioning several inscriptions, each recording the expeditions of the person, to whom the Runic inscription is erected, he goes on—& complurium qui occidentales regiones, Hispaniasque ac loca extera inviserant mentionem faciunt Cippi nostri lapidei, quorum nos suo ordine, descriptionem daturi erimus: simulque ostendemus titulos hos insignes, vel ideo datos, fuisse, quod vel exercitus duces olim, vel militiæ Socii fuerunt. Tales numero plures originis Gothicæ illustres viros quondam agnovérat Anglia, ipsaque Hibernia, qui ante complura secuta isto in orbe mortui sunt. Idem.

† In his diebus, scilicet Romanæ captivitatis, de Pictavia progressi cum sua familia Picti trans fretum Britannicum petibus Hiberniam adibant. Fordun, Scot. Hist. c. 4.

Populus

Fordun takes up the matter of fact as a matter of notoriety, that the Picts did possess Poictou and Aquitain. The only difference between the chronicles, and those who write from, and reason upon them, is, whether they came thence, and made their incursions upon Britain; or whether they went out from Britain, and hence made their incursions into Gaul. *That they were there is the ground and fact.* That they came from Scythia to these countries is the opinion that Fordun, with the authority of Bede, seems to abide by. This account of the inhabitants of Aquitania, seems to me the only probable one, by which the description of Kuneetæ, given by Herodotus, and the description of Gaul, given by Cæsar, Strabo †, and others, as inhabited by three different race of people, can be explained.

Populus quidam ignotus ab Aquitaniæ finibus emergens. Qui *postea* Pictus dicebatur suo scilicet Albanæ littori ratibus applicuit. Pictorum autem accessus ad hanc insulam (scil. Britanniam) per varios variè describitur Auctores. Quorum quidem tradunt, quod a gentibus quas secum *ex Scythia* Rex Humber ad Britanniam cōdux erat.—
Alia Chronica. Picti quidem exorti de Scythia, fugam Agenoris comitati sunt, & ipso dvce, insiderunt Aquitanorum nationem in quâ Picti de proprio nomine Pictaviam con siderunt. Id. c. 29.

† Ακουϊτανοὶ διαφέρουσι τῇ Γαλατικῇ φύλει καὶ τε τὰς τῶν σαρμάτων καλίσκυντας, καὶ κατὰ τὴν γλῶττιαν.

Strabo, Lib. 4. p. 189.

This

This also accounts for the nature of the irruptions made by the remote nations coming from the extreme northern ocean upon Italy and Rome itself. This was an entrepôt, an intermediate post; and they had water-carriage up to the heads of the Loire *, and Garone, which interlock with the waters of the Rhone and Mediterranean. † This was a trading rout perfectly known to the Romans, and to these people.

These sea-rovers pursued their prædatory enterprizes, each Vik, Vikin, or Vikinger, with one separate band, and in his own fleet, Numbers, however, of these sometimes joined in these expeditions. At length there were two instances of their forming communities, or civil bodies, of pirates, not unlike what the government of Rome was at its first establishment. The Jomsberg-Vikingers, who took post and built a strong city on the Island Julin, or Wollin, was one instance. These main-

* The Senones, the settled inhabitants of the Seine, one of the tribes who sacked Rome. L. Florus, Lib. 1. c. 13. says of these, "*Hi quondam ab ultimis terrarum oris, et cingente omnia Oceano, ingenti agmine profecti.*"

† Vide Strabo, Lib. 4. p. 189, who describes particularly this rout in its navigable parts, and the portages over land, from one set of waters to the other.

tained an independent sovereign station, and had for some time an ascendant naval power in those seas. The antiquary will meet with matter of much curiosity in their history. The Roscheild Vikings were another instance, but of another kind, not so independent; an establishment something like our Cinque Ports.

From these beginnings *the Keel of a great naval power and dominion was laid*, which, by degrees, was built up to that magnitude and force, which commanded all the north of Europe, and finally became superior to, and ascendent over, even the Roman Empire itself.

If the antiquary will be so good as to attend to the few traces of the progressive growth of this great northern maritime power, he will see that it was but natural that such a hardy, strong, fierce, warlike, race, continually habituated to danger and trained to war, should finally form a great naval dominion; and, by the operations of its fleets, be enabled to advance in force upon all the coasts of Europe; and, also, up the rivers, into the very heart of it: he will see, that it was in the ordinary course of human events, that this power should,

as

as it did, become superior at sea ; equal at land, and, finally, superior at land also, to the power of Rome.

There * are many curious anecdotes of the naval enterprizes of those northern naval people many hundred years before the æra of the building of Rome †, and many instances of foreign excursions undertaken, and settlements made, in foreign parts, by them.

This treatise, however, will commence its review, only about the time of the building of Rome, when these people by various alliances of marriage, and politics ; and by various conquests, had concentrated

* Danis paritèr atq; Norwagis hœc in more positum antiquius comperimus. Quod frequentes sulceperent, non in vicinas tantùm, sed etiam remotissimas terras, expeditiones. Quod inde (ut alia nunc taceam) factum est, quod sæpe copiosam post se sobolem relinquerint Reges : de quorum singulis liberis pro dominandi libidine non sufficere visa sit patria : alii eorum domi regnum administrarunt : alii classe ac Commeatu instructi, *Maris Imperium* ex usu & commodo suo gubernandum sibi vindicarunt. Neque etiam dubium ipsos hujus Plagæ Septentrionalis incolas, bellis continuis assuetos, & quasi innutritos, quum domi haud multo pace crescerent, nec quo Marte clarent, haberent, foris gloriæ & nominis illustrandi materiam, bello atque armis quæsisse. Andreas Vellerius in Adan. Bremen.

† I have, merely to sketch out some idea of these great leading pirates, given a chronological list of some of the principal persons.

many of the nations of the Baltic, into one civil community, and one general empire, under the name of Danes. And were become a great and powerful nation, although yet concealed, as lying beyond the bounds of the *historic horizon*.

In 752 years before the Christian æra, FROTHO succeeded his father Hadingus. He had a great fleet. He subdued Scotland, Ireland, Britain, Teuthonia, Slavia, Friesland, and Russia *. He also passed up the Rhine, and made incursions upon the extreme borders of Germany.

In 630, Haldane, the son of Frotho, died. Upon his death his sons did, according to what the father had recommended, and according to the spirit of the times, divide the empire. Roë, the elder, took the empire of the landed dominions; and Helgo†, the empire of the sea. Helgo took up the character of a Vik (translated

* Rhenum deinde classe rimatus extremis Germaniæ partibus manus injecit. Saxo Gram. Lib. 2. p. 25.

† Diviso cum fratre imperio Maris possessionem fortibus Helgo obtinuit. Regem Sclaviæ Scalcum maritimis copiis laceffitum oppressit. Quam cum in provinciam redigisset, varios pelagi recessus vago navigationis genere perlustrabat, cum ad insulam Thoræ reflexisset, &c.

Saxo Gram. Lib. 2. p. 28.

pirate), and maintained a great command at sea, and in the maritime parts. At length his brother Roë having been killed by Hotobrode, he returned to Dania; Hotobrodum quoque cum omnibus copiis navali prælio delevit. And ascended the throne of his father.

About the fifth century before Christ, in the reign of Roderic Slingebond, the Danes had various connections of alliances and treaties with Britain and Ireland.

About the middle of the second century, before the Christian Æra, Dan the Third reigned in this great naval kingdom*. He was master of a most immense fleet, with which he reduced the Saxons to the condition of becoming tributary.

In this reign, about 100 years before Christ, the famous Cimbric incursion into the Roman empire took place.

The reader will remember that we have before remarked, from the history of these

* Danorum Juventus Albiam fluvium tantâ navigiorum frequentiâ complevit, ut facile ejus transitum proinde ac continuo ponte juncta puppium tabulata præstarent. Quo evenit ut Saxoniarum Rex conditioni tributario adigeretur.

Saxo Gramm. Lib. 4. p. 66.

people,

people, that the Cimbri had settled upon the Saxon coasts, on the confines of the Teutones, whom they held under a kind of subjection, or rather *fœdus inæquale*. He will remember that we have described these regions of their inhabitancy as liable (although fenced off against the highest regular tides) to be inundated with those great extraordinary tides which have always happened from time to time in the northern ocean. The Reader will advert to the abundant multitude of people, which the history of these countries brings in every event of the war. He will recollect that the great rivers and maritime coasts of the west of Europe were well known to these naval people; also the* portages overland which connected these routs with the Rhone and the Mediterranean: he will recollect the great fleets that they possessed and commanded; and that even royal expeditions up the Rhine to the extreme of Germany were not now for the first practised. Recollecting these things, and adverting how they combine in this great and astonishing event, as it appeared to the Romans, when he reads that the Cimbri and Teutones (according to a tradition

* Vide Strabo, Lib. 4. p. 189.

which

which L. Florus, lib. iii. c. 3. mentions, and Strabo refers to), driven off their inhabitancy by a general inundation of those low countries, advanced in search of new settlements* up the Rhine, by routs perfectly known to them; he will not be surprized to find them all collected and taking post at the upper parts of that river, so far as it was navigable to them; and in the country at the heads of the waters of the Loire and Garonne; from the first of which, passing over land by no great portage, they could sail upon the Rhone, and descend down that river; from the latter of which, though by a longer and much more difficult portage, they might arrive at the Mediterranean, so as to invest the Gallia Romana. To any one who considers the command of *marine* navigation which they had to the western coasts of Europe, and the common usage in which they were practised in these voyages, all the difficulties which, not thus considered, would seem impracticable, will vanish: and the carriage of those supplies, both stores and provisions, which enabled them to continue so long stationed in these posts, will be found to be no more than that ordinary

* Cimbri et Teutones transcendêre Rhenum.

Velleius Paterc. Lib. ii. c. 8.

course of supply which they secured in every expedition that they made; and out of reach of which they in no case advanced. By making Aquitain, a country settled in great part by colonies of their own, the depôt of their magazines, whence, up to their posts, at the height of the land, they would not only be able to keep up their current subsistence, but to form advanced depôts, they were enabled to advance on assured ground. That division of them, which ascended up the Garonne, kept up their current supply by their ravaging Celtic Gaul and Spain, and saved their salted and otherwise confectioned provisions. *In fact*, all arrangements as to forage and provisions, and the carriage of them, must have been and were regularly made, and on an assured and permanent footing, as, amongst the other accidents and events of the Cimbric war, history never once adverts to, or mentions, any difficulties arising from any defect in these articles.

Plutarch *, in his Life of Marcius, expressly

* This method of raising their supply of forage and grain from year to year, at the post where they halted, or which

precisely mentions the nature of their march, as decided by their attention to this point. They did not undertake this expedition, as the effort of one campaign, by a hasty hazarded savage irruption; but they advanced year by year by different routs, and so far only in each year as they could make good their posts, and bring forward their concomitant depôts. They halted in the autumn, and there prepared their supply for the next campaign; and so advanced regularly. *Alios ad prælium hos ad bellum ire vides.*

When I used to read, in the Roman Historians only, the accounts of this irruption, and of these people, as a swarm of mere Barbarians, I was always amazed how such multitudes of people (200,000 at least), equal in number to a city of the second magnitude, which requires a circle of twenty miles radius, at least, of cultivated country to support it, could move and advance along a journey of such length, and yet every where find themselves in the centre of such a circle of

which they took as stationary, was, as we have seen before in the case of the Grecians, at the siege of Troy, as mentioned by Thucydides; and as may be read, in Herodotus, of the Egyptian expedition.

subsistence. When I considered them as Barbarians, I could never conceive how they could arrange their line of march. In short, the whole which related to their existence, movement, and acting, appeared to me always inexplicable. But, when I had once learnt, from the accounts of their own historians, that these people were of a community which was greatly advanced in their experience of permanent supply, and in their mode of military civilization, (if I may so express myself,) were a nation of warriors, were a great naval power, had for many hundred years been exercised in foreign expeditions, understood perfectly the *res saluamentaria et frumentaria*, were all acquainted with the routs up the rivers Rhine, Loire, and Garonne, to the height of the land; when I recurred to the accounts of their incursions into Spain, and of their settlements (as this treatise has suggested) in Aquitain; their advance to, and their being able to remain so long on, the frontiers of the Roman Empire, ceased to be a matter of difficulty to my conception; I was no longer surprized when I read, that they repeatedly beat the Roman armies, until, finally, they were defeated by Marius.

Every

Every event and every circumstance arise now to my mind in the natural course of things. By the system of their community, they were constantly sending out swarms and colonies; and were always ready to follow them in national bodies. They were accustomed to conduct the march, and the supply, of a moving body. They had an experienced providence in that matter, both as to the collection, preservation, and distribution, of it. They lived under constant habits of military police, and were every where, both at sea and land, a regular army of high-spirited, determined, persevering, warriors.

Having advanced thus far in research into the nature and history of the progress of the maritime community, and of the naval imperium, of these people, if the antiquary will have the patience to go a few steps farther beyond the period of this not less important than curious event, to events yet more decisive, he will find every thing that occurred, every event that arose, came forward in the common and ordinary course of human affairs, long working to this point, the ascendancy

which these maritime powers acquired over the great landed Empire of Rome.

About the year 70 before Christ, Freidle-vus Celer succeeded to his father's throne, and pursued uniformly the same naval system. The Cimbri, Teutones, Marfi, and other inhabitants of the Low Countries, who were engaged in the enterprize above referred to, were merely external parts, or rather provinces, of the Danish Empire. The mere loss of these people, to a nation abounding in population, was no great matter, however great their numbers. Freidleve pursued his excursions into foreign parts, and was of such weight in the affairs of the great maritime interest of the North, that Cæsar (as it is said by the Danish historians), in order to keep the people of the Saxon shores employed in attention to their own affairs, while he attacked Britain, made a league, or alliance, with him. The Danes and Saxons were in a continued and constant state of rivalry, or war; and Cæsar allied himself with that party, who was not likely to interrupt him, against those who were prepared and disposed so to do. While Cæsar was carrying his expeditions against the inhabitants of the Armerican and Saxon shores,

shores, and against Britain in the southern parts, Freidleve invaded the northern parts, and also possessed himself of Dublin.

About 40 years before Christ, Frotho succeeded his father. The same system being pursued, and the power of this empire increasing, he was engaged in a succession of nine different wars; first, against the Sclavi; second, against Gotharas, King of Norway; third, fourth, and fifth, against the Huns; sixth, against the Sueicos; seventh, against the Norwegians; eighth, against the Biarmlandians; and, lastly, against Britain and Ireland. The force with which he invaded Sclavia, is thus described by Saxo: *tanta autem navigiorum frequentia mare compleverat, ut nec receptui portus, nec castris littora, nec commeatibus impensæ suppeterent.*

* The Hunns brought such great force of shipping, and such multitudes of men, against him, that, although he was able to raise a force to meet them, yet, he

* Saxo, Gramm. Lib. v. p. 84. These Hunns are here spoken of, as being on the rivers and coasts of the eastern parts of the Baltic. This is the earliest mention of them within the historic horizon.

found his finances unequal to the expence of supporting that force. The method he took to raise the supplies was, to send two of his principal vikingers on a joint expedition of piracy *, and to send out others to several regions, which were tributary to him, to collect contributions. *Et jam quæsitæ latè sumptus, convectæque raptu impensæ, alendis abundè copiis suppeditabant.*

History continues the account of this naval imperium as the half of the royal dominion ; and, in the year of Christ 1110, it was so considered by the monarch himself. “ † Olave, in the last periods of his reign, as he saw his death approach-

* *Ænevm regem et Glomerum piratarum precipuum ad Orcades petendorum commeatum gratiâ dirigit, proprias cuique copias tribuens.* Saxo Gramm. Lib. v. p. 89. The Orcades were at this time tributary, paying dane-gelt to the Danish kingdom, and were governed by a Regulus, or Viceroy. After Frotho had finished his wars, he appointed various Reguli over each district of the conquered countries, with condition of paying a certain tribute, *certis tribui legibus oneravit.* Amongst the rest, he appointed Revislus to govern the Orcades. These were Thegns, and the tribute they paid was Thegn, or Dane-gelt.

† Olaus cum supremis Fati viribus ardeatur. Frothoni & Haraldo filiis consulturus, alterum Terris, alteram aquis regiâ ditione præfisse: cam potestatis differentiam non diutînâ usurpatione, sed annuâ vicissitudine, sortiri iubet. Ita regnandi intermeos conditione æquatâ, prior Frotho maritimarum rerum regimine potitus.

Saxo Gramm. Lib. vii. p. 120

ing, advised his sons also thus to consider it, and to receive the kingdom between them under that division, not as two separate *imperia*, but as two separate commands under one and the same united imperium: and, therefore, to govern and command in each by alternate annual rotation." That the maritime dominion was thought the first in rank appears by this, that Frotho, the eldest of his sons, took this command for the first turn.

In the next reign, this double empire was put upon another footing. The elder brother, Haldan, held the command of both, as supreme King; but, after he had presided over the landed dominions three years, he committed these as a kind of inferior command, or office, to his brother Harald *, as regent; and exercised himself the marine department. I mention not these traits as marking the policy, but as giving proof, in fact, of the im-

* Perempto Frothone, cum Haldanus ternos circiter annos patriæ præfuisset, Haraldø fratri, regnandi jure perfunctoriè tradito, ælandiam: esque finitimas insulas quas à Suetiæ complexu sinuosus æquarum anfractus divellit, paratice populatur injuriis. Ibidem subductis hyeme navigiis, de vallo cinctis, expeditioni triennium dedit. Post Suetiæ manus iniecit, ejus regem bello consumpsit.

Saxo Gramm. Lib. vii. p. 121.

portance,

portance, of the marine power and naval dominion in these northern parts at this period.

About the middle of the third century of the Christian æra, Harald Hylletand reigned; in whose time the navy, both in its establishment and discipline, acquired very great advancement and increase. He strengthened both his imperium and his arms by attaching to his services, the greatest adventurers of the times *. Aided by the services of Ubbo, a great Captain of Friesland, he subdued the people bordering on the Rhine, and made them tributary. He recruited his army with the best soldiers he could collect amongst them; and, confident in this

* Ubbonem, sorore ei in matrimonium datâ, militem nactus, finitimos Rheno populos, tributo submisit: militemque ex ejus gentis fortissimis legit. Quo fretus bello Sclaviam preffit, ejus duces [Phagen] Duc et Dal ob virtutem capi potius quam occidi curavit, quibus in commilitiam receptis, Aquitaniam armis perdomuit. Moxque Britanniam petens, Humbrore Rege prostrato, promptissimos quosque divitiarum juvenutis adscivit, quorum principibus Orm cognomento Britannicus habebatur. Hac rerum famâ Athletas à variis orbis partibus accersitus in mercenarium marum redegit. Quorum frequentia auctus adeo regnorum omnium motus nominis sui terrore cohibuit, ut eorum rectoribus mutuum conferendæ manûs ausum excuteret. Sed nec quicquam maris dominationem absque ejus nutu usurpare presumpsit. Quippe quondam in Danorum republica dividuum terræ et pelagi imperium fuit. Id. Lib. vii. p. 139.

strength, attacked Sclavia, taking prisoners *Duc* and *Dal*, the two famous generals of these people. He attached them to his service. Strengthened with their assistance, *he subdued Aquitane*. After that, turning his arms upon Britain, he overcame the King of the Humbrians, and enrolled in his forces every the most foldierly young man of the conquered nation. He commanded the balance of power in politics; and held such an ascendant command in the dominion of the sea, that no one presumed to hold command therein but under his imperium.

There were, however, two marine powers growing up in Norway and Sueia; the first governed by Sivard, Harald's brother-in-law; and the other by Ringo, his nephew. These were, perhaps, subordinate, or inferior allies to Dania in their beginnings; but, driven into resistance by the mixture of * jealousy and insolence with which Harald held and exercised his sovereignty over them, whilst they,

* This jealousy was infused into his mind by the wicked arts of a confidential minister, who wrought the brave old King to a quarrel with his family, his friends, and best servants. When he was worsted in battle, this minister knocked his brains out. Saxo, Gram. Lib. 6 and 7.

feeling their own power, ceased to be disposed to obey *, they revolted, and finally became ascendant and superior; and the Danish empire, in its turn, became for some time subordinate.

Having now, in a kind of sketch, given some idea of the rise and amplification of the naval power which *had laid its keel* in the North, and had been, by slow and regular progress in many ages back, extending itself; having brought down the account, which I have given, to that period when these people were ready and prepared to contest the dominion of the sea, and of course the command of the maritime provinces of Europe, with the Empire of Rome itself; to the period when history begins to bring them forward into that contest; I will endeavour to mark to the Reader (in example) the first

* In this war between Harald Hylletand and Ringo, the fleet of the latter consisted of 2500 ships, though inferior in power. Supposing these ships to carry each 60 men, which is below the average, the army must consist of 150,000 men. Harald's force must be supposed greater. Harald's method of forming his fleet for action was inimitable, and peculiar to himself. But the same wicked minister, who betrayed him into this quarrel, communicated to Ringo this order of battle. The moment that Harald was told how Ringo formed his line of battle, he perceived that he was betrayed.

Saxo Gramm. Lib. 7:

symptom

symptom of the importance of that power, in the scale of empire.

The Romans found it necessary, about this time, to establish an office, and to create an officer, upon the precedent of the commission given C. Cn. Pompey in the piratic war. They found it necessary, from the manner and degree of force with which this great Northern Naval Power pressed upon their frontiers, to create the office of *Count of the Saxon Shores*, holding a command in chief over the sea, and all the Western maritime parts of Europe. Ceraufius* (a Briton, as Dr. Stukeley thinks) was appointed to this great command. This great officer not only exerted the power, which this command gave him, against the enemy, but so conducted the administration of it, by forming great and extensive alliances, particularly with the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, that *he*

* This person was not the only Briton who, even in those days and before them, held commands at sea. Orm, cognomento Britannicus, commanded in Harald's fleet in the great war between Dania and Suetia. Grim also was a great adventurer. The *bodes* and *bies*, or habitations, of these my Lincolnshire countrymen, retain their names to this day in Ormsby and Grimsby. The two wapentakes, Loedbroec and Aflac, retain also the names of two famous sea-commanders, mentioned in the Runic inscriptions, Lodbrog and Aflug: these might not have been originally Lincolnshire men, but they had settlements there.

raised

raised this department into a great political marine interest, which became of weight in the scale of empire. Fixed on the broad basis of an interest of such extent and power, and supported by the maritime revenues, this department became a third power in the State; and Ceraufius arose to the becoming a third colleague as Emperor with Dioclesian and Maximian Emperors. At length, seeing that all was false and deceitful in the combined Imperium, taking this maritime into its combination as a part and partner, and that such joint empire would be ruinous to him; feeling, at the same time, that his command was an Imperium which did not depend on the will of these Emperors, but stood independent on its own basis, he separated from them, and established this maritime empire as sovereign; and, forming the subordinate provincial legislature of Britain into an independent one, under the name of a Senate, governed this empire, as an empire of itself, fixing the seat of government in Britain, with a senate of its own.

If the Antiquary, who shall study the decadence of the Roman Western empire, will pursue, with attention, the beginnings and progression of this naval power arising into dominion, and examine its operations,

operations, and the effect which these had in whatever hands it lay, by the little which the Author of this treatise (whose line of life has not permitted a regular course of learned study) is able to trace, he thinks much curious and interesting knowledge may be elicited as to naval dominion, in a period when it was scarcely within the historic horizon, except as it became felt at intervals by the irruptions which it made. When this is understood as it deserves to be, it will be seen, that the people, who overran the dominions, and put an end to Roman Western Empire, were not Barbarians; nor their system of attack the mere brutal force of Barbarism. When causes are considered in their true estimation, effects are seen as natural, and become understood.

This treatise now returns to the Euxine and Mæotic Lake: it considers those regions as the point from which, synthetically, or to which analytically, the lines may be drawn, which mark the inhabitancy and the generations of the Teuts, as we have already done that of Cymri or Cimmerii. For, in the direction of these lines, some *Gaëllic diverging branches* excepted, will be found all that
can

can be learnt of the inhabitancy or generations of these two fraternal nations.

* Both the Celts and Germans derived, in their own account, their origin from Düs, Dis, Tuis, Teut, Teutates, &c. for, by all these names was the same *Numen* called. This supposed source of their race they called Got-Teus—or the god Teus. Whence the Greeks, by their mode of expression, made the name Cottus; as the Orientals framed therefrom the translatitious name *Teu-Baal*. The word Thiôd (variously pronounced and written, as Thiud, Dhyd, Dhiud, Tut, Thiut) signifies the general or universal idea of a people, as applied to a community, or nation. Whether this word, expressive of the collective gentile body, became applied as a comprehensive idea, like Hobbs's Leviathan, to some *Numen*, whose body was the people, and whose soul was their proper animation, whom the people personified, and called their father, and worshipped as their God; or, whether

* Galli omnes se a Dite patre prognatos prædicant.

Cæsar, Bell. Gall. Lib. vi. § 18.

Germani celebrant carminibus antiquis Tuistonem deum, terræ editam, & filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoresque. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 2.

there

it was taken up as a general term to denote the body * of the people, *united into a nation*, is of very little import. In the first case it was a personal, in the second a gentile name.

A former part of this work, entitled, a *Treatise on the Study of Antiquities*, has already suggested a line of investigation, which seems to discover that the Oïim, Ojim, hords of the Tartar race, the Nomades who inhabited the country lying between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and were the original inhabitants of Tr'-oja †, spoke the same language as the original inhabitants of Europe : and it gives an instance or two from the scattered words of that language of men, as it is called in contradiction to the language of the Gods, which still remain in Homer and Plato. That they were of the race of Gyges, called by the Orientals *Magog*, a fraternal branch to those of Cottus and Gomer, does also appear.

* John Ihre's Sueio-gothic Glossary.
Thiôd or Thiôt communitat populi.

† Πολλὰὶ ὑμάνυμαι Θράξι, καὶ Τρῶσιν.

Strabo, Lib. 13. p. 292.

This treatise hath already traced the processions of the generations and inhabitancy of the Cymri, the race of Gomer, from the earliest periods to those later ones, when they first came forward into the *Historic Horizon*.

The Dteutsch or Thiotſch race remains next to be investigated. We have spoken of them in general as connected with the Cymric and Gygic branches. Our inquiry will now pursue the lines of their procession, and generations in particular. From the name by which they described themselves, corrupted in its etymon and in its orthography, they were called by foreigners Tit-anes : from the name of their supposed first progenitor *Got-teus*, the god Teus, they were by various deflexions of pronunciation called Gotti, Codhi, Gothi, Yutæ, Getæ, Chedoim, Chettim, and Κεττεας; and with the affix *ones*, Teutones, Tutones, Gothones; with that of *ingi*, Teutingi, Cottingi, and Tuthingi. They had also one common appellative given to them by the Greeks, in the name of * *Scythæ*, under which ap-

* Ἀπὸ τὰς μὲν δὴ τῆς προσθερίας, κοινῶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων Σκύθας καὶ Κελτο-Σκύθας ἐκάλουν.

Strabo, lib. ii. p. 507.

pellative arose a second distinctive appellation of * Celtæ, and Celto-Scythæ. The common etymology of this word Scythæ, as it derives from *Schuttan* to shoot, and Schutter a shooter, as the people were archers, I have taken for granted, and acquiesced in as above. This word, however, being of Greek formation, may, by the Greeks, have been referred in its etymology to this *appellative* Schutter, when perhaps, as I believe is the fact, it was a *generical* name, 'Sjutæ, 'Sgeütæ, *the remote* Getæ or Jeutæ. Those remote Northern tribes whom the Greeks called thus *Scythæ*, called themselves Σκολόται †, or 'Scoltæ, 'Skeltæ, from the prefix *Es* and *Kholtz*, Gwold, Kald, or Kelt *Sylva*.

The word Celtæ, or Keltæ, as it was actually pronounced, appears plainly to be a distinctive appellative given or assumed, as describing some particular and distinct

* Κελται κατὰ τε σφᾶς ἀρχαῖον, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνομάζοντο. Pausanias, lib. i. cap. 3.

Si non Galatarum certè Celtarum vocabulo Græci Romanique, Gallos, Germanos, Brittanos, Cimbros; gentesque omnes quæ τὰ ἑσκατα τῆς Εὐρώπης incolunt, comprehendi sunt. KUNTIUS.

† Σύμπασιν δ' εἶναι ὄνομα Σκολότας: Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες ὀνομάσαν. Herod. lib. iv. c. 6.

tribes of those Scythæ, as Celto-Scythæ, Celtiberii, &c. The mode of explaining this matter will be suggested hereinafter. It will be sufficient here to observe, that these Celtæ were originally called by themselves Schol'tæ*, included within the regions of the Tribes, Achs, Thiots, and Getæ.

The reader is desired to take up here a reference to what I shall suggest hereafter about the nature of some tribes, such as the Scythians and Celts retaining their sylvan life, whilst yet living in the forests and uncleared lands amidst the settled tribes.

The first emigrations of this Dteutisch family, or nation, are found to have been made to the West, under the indefinite appellative *Achs*, a word in their original language signifying *tribes*, rather than the nation in general: these Achs, as above explained, have been found under the more distinctive appellative 'Sachs and 'Sacæ, a word compounded of the prefix *Ys* or *Es*, and *Ach*, signifying the outer or *uttermost achs*; which tribes, when they became *settled* on the westernmost borders of the continent, assumed, or had given

* According to the Greek pronunciation.

to them, the gentile name 'Sax-ones, or 'Sachs become dwellers.

To the South-west the migrations extended, by these tribes, up the Iſter on both sides, and above the falls to the heads of it, where this river is called the Danoub. These tribes were expanded on all the secondary rivers and waters of this great river; and also to the Southward of it, in those regions afterwards called Illyria and Dacia; they made these their migrations under the appellative * *Daci*, which is literally *Die-achs, the tribes*: this became a gentile name written and pronounced *Δαυοι* by the Greeks, and *Davi* by the Latins.

The first range of the expansions of this Dteutisch family, or nation, to the South, appears to have been made under the appellative *Thiód* or *Thiót*, a Dteutisch word (John Ihre's Sweio-gothic Glossary), synonymous to the Cymric word *Cumri*, signifying *communitas populi*: it is mostly used as

* Δάκως δὲ τὰς εἰς τ' ἀνατολίαν πρὸς Γερμανίαν καὶ τὰς τῇ Ἰστρῷ πηγὰς, οὓς οἶμαι Δάκως καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν ——— τῷ ποταμῷ ὧν καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς μέση, μέχρι τῷ κατὰ λακίαν, Δανέσιον προσηγόρευε, ἡ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν Δάκων φέρεται. Strabo, lib. vii. p. 304. Edit. Casaub. 1620.

an affix, but also directly by itself. The expanding *Thiôd*, as it made its settlements under this general appellative, acquired the Gentile name *Thiôds*, and *Phthiôtæ*; and the country where they settled was called *Phthia*, and *Phthiôtis*. They extended through all *Theffaly*, or * *Thettaly*, and *Macedonia*, *Greece*, *Thebes*, and *Achaia* †. The *Phthiôtæ* were *Theffalians*; and *Strabo*, lib. ix. states it from *Homer*, that the greatest part of *Theffaly*, or *Thattalia*, was *Phthia*. *Phthia* is expressly said to be understood formerly to be the same as *Greece* and *Achaia* of latter times. ‡ *Strabo* says

* It is worth marking in a note, that the name of the country *Thattalia* is, by an unconstrained and direct etymology, resolvable into *Thuat*, or *Tuat-dale*, an old *Dteutisch* word, for Northern vale.

Φθίαν τῇ, οἱ μὲν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔναι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ, p. 297. *Homer* makes Φθία in his time part of *Ellas*.

Οἱ τὲ μὲν Φθίην ἢ Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα. *Ibid*.

Ἔτι δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ Φθίῳ εἰς ἔθνος

Scylacis Caryandensis periplus——

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀχαιὸς Θατταλία.

† Τοιούτη δὲ σῶτα [scilicet, *Theffalia*] εἰς τεσσαράμην διήρητο ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ μὲν Φθιώτις, τὸ δ' Ἐπιώτις, τὸ δὲ Θατταλλιώτις, τὸ δὲ Πελασγιώτις.

‡ Ὑπὸ τῷ Κρυίῳ Θηβαίοισιν Φθίῳτις. Ἀχαιοὶ δ' ἐκαλῶνται εἰ Φθίῳται πάντες. *Strabo*, edit. *Casaub.* 1585, lib. ix. p. 298, 300.

expressly,

exprefsly, that under Crocio the Thebans were Phthiôtides: and indeed all thofe afterwards called Achaians were, in former times, called Phthiôtides.

This *Thiód*, or thefe *Phthiôtæ*, may be underftood as *expansions of the community*, whilft the next range, who followed them under the appellative *Achs*, may be confidered as *migrations of difcriminate tribes*, and therefore called *Achs*. Thefe migrations covered the former and extended over Thracia, which is literally *Tre'-achs*, a diftrict of the Tribes; as *Achaia*, including all Greece to the Northward of the Isthmos, is alfo the country of the *Achs*, that is, the Achaioi and Achivi.

* Hecatæus, the Milefian, fays exprefsly that even the Peloponeffus was inhabited by the Barbari, meaning * thefe people,

* Ἐκαταῖσμι ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φησὶν ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾤκησαν αὐτὴν Βαρβόροι· σκεδὸν δὲ τὴν ἡσυμπάσα Ἑλλάς κατοικία Βαρβάρων ὑπερῆε τὸ παλαιόν. Id. lib. vii. p.222.

† I have not ventured to infer in the text an idea which I entertain, that the Hellenic, and other colonists, called thofe original *old* inhabitants Graii and Graici. There was certainly a diftrict in Bæotia, or on its confines, called Γεζία, which fome fuppofed to be the fame as Tenagra. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 404.

before the arrival of Hellenists and other colonists from Syria, Phœnicia, and Ægypt; indeed, the whole country, afterwards called Ellas, was the habitation of these people.

I will here venture to insert two or three instances of Dteutsch words amongst the Achaians and Thracians, as a further confirmation of the opinion, which I have in my former treatise, as well as in this, in some degree proved; that the primary old language of these people was *Dteutsch*:
 Ἀήτιον δὲ καλέεσσι τὸ Πρυταναῖον οἱ Ἀχαιοί.
 Herod. lib. vii. c. 197. This is the Dteutch word *Leet*, a court, used even to this day. Βρία Θρακισὶ πόλις ἔστι, that is Bury, spoken short B'ry, as we commonly enounce Borough B'rough. Μη-σημ-βρία Μηγαρέων ἀποίκος, πρότερον Μενε-βρία, ὅθις Μενα-πόλις τῇ κτίσαντος Μένε καλεμένης—ὡς ἔη ἡ τε Σήλυος πόλις Σηλυο-βρία· ἡ τὲ Αἴος Πελο-βρία ποτὲ ἀνομάζετο. Strabo, edit. Casaub, 1585. lib. vii. p. 221.

Some of the tribes of these people continuing their sylvan, roving, pastoral, and hunters life, roving amongst the yet uncultured forests, interspersed, however,
 amidst

amidst those tribes which became settlers, had various appellatives applied to them, as Yaoul, or Gaoul, (Galli) and *Αἰόλεις, which name is the same word; for Æol, enounced with the Æolic digamma Y or G, is † Yaoul, or Gaoul, and signifies migrators, or rovers. And we learn that ‡ the Doric and Æolic dialect or enunciation were the same. These unsettled rovers were called by the *Hellenists* Πελασγοί §, because they, like birds of passage, like the storks, for instance, which are called Πελαργοί, migrated from place

* Αἰόλεις τοπαλαὶ καλούμενοι Πελάσγοι.

Herodot. lib. vii. c. 95.

Οἱ δὲ Πελάσγοι τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δυναστεύσαι ἀρχίστατοι λέγονται. Strabo, edit. Casaub. 1585, lib. vii. p. 226.

These ancient Pelagic inhabitants were the founders of the temple and oracle of Dodona. I have, in my former Treatise, suggested that this Dodona is originally *Dendone*, God's-hill; and that the priests, called Σελλοί, were *Seers*, or *Prophets*: according to a word of the same language, they were certainly called Βάρβαροι, and are so described by Homer.

† Exactly as we enounce with the digamma Y, and also write *Eaork*, the old name of the city, York.

‡ Τὴν δὲ Διοίσει τῇ Αἰολίᾳ [γλώττῃ]. Strabo, lib. 8.

§ Οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν συγροφάντες ἱερῆσι περὶ τῶν Πελασγῶν, ὡς καὶ Ἀθήνησι γινώσκω. τῶν Πελασγῶν διὰ δὲ τὸ πλεονέτα· ἔτι καὶ δίκην ὁρίων ἐπιφύτῳ ἰφ' οὗ ἔτυχε τόπος Πελασγῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν κληθῆναι. Strabo, lib. 5. p. 153 edit. Casaub. 1585.

to place. These Yaoul, Gaoul, Galls, or, as they are called Pelasgi, were every where in Thessaly, and even in Attica. Their appellative, when they settled, became a Gentile name Αἰόλεδες, or Æolians.

These first expansions thus operating, and these migrations thus taking place, were followed in all directions by more adult and independent tribes, who of course took more specifically Gentile appellatives, as from Cottus, or Gotteus, Cotti, Codhi, Gothi: from Teus, simply, Teuts, Dteuts, Tueschi, Dteulich, &c.; these were they who followed the *'Sacks* in the Northern parallel directly West. The latter of the above appellatives were, in those tribes who migrated Southward, converted into that of Getæ, especially by the Greeks; and into Chittim, by the Southern people who settled on, or traded to, the coasts of Greece.

Under this appellative * Κεττες, or Getæ, they are found superseding or succeeding
ing

* Vide Suidas, verbum Κίττες. Although the Κεττες, whom Homer mentions (Odys. lib. xiii. v. 520.), may be,
as

ing the Daci *, on both sides of the Ister, up to the falls or cataracts. They are also found settling in the regions North of this, away West, as far as that country, afterward, and in later times, called Germania †, and up to the Hercynean forest and mountains: They, just in the same manner as the ‡ Thracians did, as fast as

as in that particular passage, Mysians bordering on Troia; yet Strabo clearly proves that Κεταιοί, who were called Mysians were in Thrace, and called Thracians, definitively under the general appellation Γίται. Οἱ Μύσοι Θράκιες οὖτις καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ ὅς νῦν Μυσῆς καλεῖσιν.

Strabo, edit. Casaub. lib. 13. p. 204.

Herodotus, (lib. v. cap. 3.) considers the Getæ a part of the Thracian. And Strabo expressly says, Οἱ τοίνυν Ἑλληγες τὰς Γέτας Θράκας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἅκην ἐφ' ἑκάτερον τῷ Ἰστρῷ.

Strabo, edit. Casaub. lib. 13. p. 204.

* Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς χώρας μέρισμος συμμύων καὶ παλαιῶν τὰς μὲν γὰρ Δάκας προσαγορεύουσι τὰς δὲ Γέτας· Γέτασιν τὰς πρὸς τὸν πρὸς τὸν πόντον [scil. Εὐξινον] κεκλιμέναις, πρὸς τὴν ἑω. Ὀμογλώττιοι δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ Γίται τοῖς Δάκοις. Ibid. p. 305.

Γίται ὁμογλώττιαι Θράξ, ἔστιν. Herodot. lib. v. cap. 3.

† Τὸ δὲ νότιον μέρος τῆς Γερμανίας, τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἀλβίου, τὸ μὲν συνέχης ἀκμὴν ὑπὸν Σενθίαν κατέχεται· ἐν δὲ εὐθὺς ἢ τῶν Γέταιν συνάπτει γῆ κατασκευασμένη γαίῃ παρατιταμένη τῷ Ἰστρῷ κατὰ νοτίον-μερος, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀλβιον, τῇ παρὰ τὴν Εὐκύνην ὁρίαν, μέρος τι καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ὀρεῶν κατέχεται· εἴτα πλεονεχίζεται πρὸς τὰς ἄραις μεχρὲς Τυρριταῶν.

Strabo, ut supra, lib. vii. p. 204.

See also Strabo, lib. ii. of the Getic Region.

‡ Ὀνόματα δὲ πολλὰ ἔχουσι καταχώρας ἑκάστη.

they

they settled, assumed, or had given to them, many Gentile names, according to the places where, or the circumstances under which, they settled.

They are found migrating, under this appellative, South throughout all Thrace, Thessaly, and Macedonia. By the Hellenists they were called Κεττες, Κεττες Μακεττες, and Μακεττες, or Maced-ones; by the people of the South, Chittim, Cithoim, Ma-chittim, and Macedoim. History (Genesis, chap. x. v. 4.) says expressly that the Chittim, or Cithim, were descendants of Javan, that is, of Japetus, as above described; “à quo,” saith Hoffman, “Macedones orti,” &c. And, continues he, the ancients used the word Μακέτες for Macedonici, as we find Μακέτις for Macedonia. Now this word is a compound of Μα and Κεττες, signifying the same as Messagetæ, the *hither* Getæ: that the Chittim were Thracian is certain: and that the Κεττες, as Mysians, were in the earliest times on the borders of Macedonia, may be collected from Homer, as explained by Strabo: and the book of Macabees calls Alexander king of the Chittim. These Getæ were
not

not confined to these regions, extensive as they may be, as I have shewn; but Suedas (see the word ΚΙΤΕΥΣ) says, that king Latinus led the Chittim into Italy.

I have shewn that these Jeutæ or Gætæ migrated under this appellative to the Elb. We find that they not only passed the Elb, and occupied the whole country between the Elb and the Rhine, under the Gentile name Souêbii and Sueui; but under the appellative Volc, Bolg, or Volgæ (by the Romans pronounced Belgæ), passed over the lower parts of the Rhine, and drove off the Gauls.

These people increased in population and in the amplification of possessions and power, so as to possess one third part of what was afterward called Gaul; and in the course of time their population in-

† Μέγιστον τὸ γε τῶν Σεήνων ἔθνος. διήκει γὰρ ἄπὸ τῆς Ῥήνης μέχρι τῆς Ἀλβίου. Strabo, lib vii. p. 290.

† ——— ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni. Id. ibid. § ii.

Belgas esse ortos à Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi conledisse; Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent expulsi.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. ii. § 4.

creased

creased to such a superabundant surplus, that they sent off swarms of Colonists to the Southern parts of Britain, who became settled inhabitants of those parts. Cæsar mentions this as taking place not more than sixty years before his attempt on Britain.

These Jents, Getæ, &c. tribes of the Dteutsch family or nation, by whatever Gentile names in their several districts called, fixed their *marcs or marches*, and maintained an advanced frontier guard called Marcomannes, on the borders of Helvetia. Other tribes of them also kept up an advanced guard on the upper parts of the Rhine, which corps, by an appellation of their own language, they called *Guerjmannes*, which the Romans pronounced Germani.

The word German is a war appellation or military title, assumed as a Gentile name, not long before the Romans began to have knowledge of these people. When this *Corps de Guard* first made their incursions over the Rhine, they assumed, or had given to them, the appellation *Vics, Victores* ; latterly, saith Cæsar, they took
the

the name Germani. This military appellation is a Dteusch compound word, signifying, in its first sense, guardsmen. Waeringar*, from Waerja, or Guerya, a guard or defence, which is the radix of this, and compounded with Man and Mannes, is guardsmen, or guermen. The Bizantine writers, both Greek and Latin, corruptly and variously writing this word, called the guards Βαράγγοι, Varangi, Guarangi, and Varingi. This name is precisely descriptive of what these people were when they were first called by it: they were a military corps, advanced as a frontier guard. When they first passed the upper parts of the Rhine, they were only an advanced guard of 15,000 men; the main body consisting of 120,000 men, soon passed over after them; yet these were but as † an army *encamped* or cantoned, not as a nation settled. Germani exercitissimi in armis, qui inter annos 14 tecta non subissent. They supported themselves by the tribute and contributions which they imposed upon, and levied from,

* John Ihre's Sueio-Gothic Glossary.

† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. i. § 36.

the people, whom they held subdued: the person who commanded them was known to the Romans only by his official and not by his personal name. Ariovistus, as pronounced and written by the Romans, was *Here-oberst, Dominus Supremus*, the Commander in Chief.

By degrees this war-name Germani, from a general appellative, became as a Gentile name given to them by foreigners. The people within themselves never varied, when considering themselves nationally from their Gentile name *Deusch*.

A like advanced guard, but fixed as a settled establishment, was kept a standing corps on the * marc or marches next to Helvetia. The corps was called *Marc-mannes*, and by the Romans *Marcomanni* †: the corps was called thus as the standing guard of the Marches or Frontiers; and the commander *Maer-Bijuda* (from *Maere limes* and *Byjuden imperare*). The Margreeve, or, as we English would call him,

* *Æque* [scilicet, *sedes Marcomanorum*] *Germaniæ velut Frons est.*

† Tacitus de Mor. Germ §. 42.

Lord of the Marches. The Romans, in their imperfect translatitious enunciation and writing, called the corps *Marcomanni*, supposing them to be a distinct nation ; and the commander *Mariobodus*, taking this title of office to be a personal name. Exactly and in like manner they called the commander of the Teuts, or Teutones, *Teuto-bodus*.

They made the same mistake in the appellative or title of office *Here-man*, the commander of the army of a province, whom they called *Ariminius*, as if it was his personal name.

Perhaps the grave Antiquary may think I carry this matter too far, when I conjecture that the Romans and Greeks made the same mistake, when they gave to the leaders of the Celts and Gauls the name *Brennus*, specifically as a personal name, while the word was only an appellative, *Baron*, the title of office : yet the following quotation from Joan. Loccenii *Antiquitates Suio-Gothicæ* justifies the conjecture, *qui se præclaris facinoribus in bello præstitisset, nomen Baronis merebatur*. And again, the word *Barum*, in the Norwegian laws, is translated by the Danish word *Here-man*.

If it were the purpose of this treatise to pursue this line of research under the pretence of history, whilst it only means to recommend and to suggest to the Antiquary an hypothetical theorem, I might and could carry this farther. It is, however, enough to the purpose of this treatise, which is to give grounds whereon to investigate the fact, that all Europe in its first inhabitancy was peopled and occupied by two fraternal branches of one family, the Cumri and Dteutsch.

There remains, however, another description of *tribes* to be accounted for, I mean the Celts, whom, as my opinion persuades me, I shall shew not to be a different race of people from the Dteutsch, but *tribes* of the same, persevering as forest-hunters in their original sylvan life. These tribes ranging in the woods and uncleared lands, as the Indians of America do at this day, were, so far as and wheresoever these hunting grounds extended *, mixed

* Πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ἀδριατικὴν καὶ Ἰλλυρικὰ [ἔθ.η], πρὸς δὲ ἑτέραν μεχρὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου τὰ Θρακικά, καὶ εἰς τινὰ τέτοιους ἀντιμεμίκται, Σκύθικα καὶ Κελτικά.

Strabo, Edit. Casaub. 1585, Lib. VII. p. 216.

Ἔτι δὲ τὶς διαφορὰ καὶ παρὰ τέττας, τῶν ἈΓΡΟΙΚΩΝ καὶ ΜΕΣΑΓΡΟΙΚΩΝ καὶ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ.

Strabo, ibid. Lib. XIII, p. 407.

in the regions occupied by the Pastor Nomade tribes, and possessed by those who became land-workers, who settled, coalesced into communion, and were, in the process of their progressive civilization, organized and policed.

It appears to me, and I speak from what I have known in fact, that, in the first stages of the progression of human living and inhabitancy on this earth, the human race occupy it in its natural state, and therefore are *homines sylvicolæ*, *Holtz-boden* and *Woldsmen*, drawing their sustenance in part from the wild produce of the uncultured vegetation; and partly from the produce of their hunting and fishing, in animal food, which the rivers, lakes, seas, and forests supply.

Quos rami atque asper victa venatus alebat.

VIRGIL.

Of the Fisher-tribes, and Sea-rovers, I have spoken above.

In those parts of the earth, where, besides the wild animals of the forest, the *feræ naturæ*, there are found gregarious animals, who seem by nature to

seek the fostering aid and protection of man: and, where man hath turned the exertions of his powers to the taming and rendering domiciliate these gregarious animals, the inhabitants of such countries become Pastor-tribes, and what were called Nomades. These drawing the chief part of their sustenance from the milk which their flocks and herds afforded, were of course attached, in families and hords of families, as shepherds and herdsmen, to the spot where their flocks and herds fed for the time; and thus became, for the time, domiciliat settlers: yet, as from the nature of grazing it would be necessary (they who understand grazing know this) to look out for and secure the occupation of a succedaneous range of such spots, in different seasons, in the woods and lands, as would afford brumage, pasture, and water, they must also have and occupy successive temporary settlements, so as to live themselves under a * *ranging system of inhabitancy*, changing these grazing, breeding, and feeding, stations, according to the seasons, and the nature of the grounds suited to them.

* Μισαγγοίχοι.

During

During these temporary residences, which they return to in their circuitous ranges, they naturally become *planters*, which work the women and children of the family perform by portions of labour in fragments of time. * They plant various kind of pulse, which multiply the articles of food, carry the provision beyond the partial supply of the day, and thus create a certain series of *permanent supply* in aid of the sustenance they derive from their flocks and herds.

Other tribes, in the advancing state of man, from the experience of this partial and temporary planting, began at length but by slow gradation of improvement, to sow farinacious and bread corn: this requires certain linked operations in working the land, and a continued permanency of residence, from the nature of the culture and vegetation. These tribes, therefore, by the process of their occupation, and the course of life it must engage them in, became *Landworkers* and

* Σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι, καὶ σίλειον καὶ κρόμμα, καὶ σκόροδα, καὶ φάβας, καὶ κέγχυρας.

Herod. Lib. IV. c. 17.

settlers. As the occasions as well as the increased causes of consumption, called for an increased supply, these landworkers would, as they actually have always done, begin to clear away the woods, and to deforest the environs of their habitancy, by making scattered and unconnected settlements as the local gave prospect of return for this heavy labour. This, and their driving the game from off their cultured land, would of course commit them in interferences with Forest-hunters, and, at the same time, expose them in a defenceless state to their inroads and depredations.

The *Pastors*, by the various intercommunities and intercourse which their occupation would occasion, would create and multiply the occasions, as well as give source to an advancing population. Their improvements in planting, as observed above, though not carried to land-working, properly so called, would prepare an assurance of sustenance to the prospects of an increasing progeny. So that these pastor-tribes would arrive at that situation in the progress of the human being, wherein an expanding population, with
a mul-

a multiplied increase of their flocks and herds, would require more extensive grazing lands in every station, and a more expanded circuitous range of such periodical stations. These tribes would also, in their way, encroach upon the forests, disturb the hunt, and interfere essentially with the *Forest-hunters*.

While these two descriptions of tribes were advancing in their population, and, by the expansion of their settlements and grazing ranges, were straightening the hunts of the foresters, the population of these latter would first become stationary, and then decline. I mention this here as a consequence which would and did arise in the course of nature and time. But whilst they remained tribes of forest-hunters, * these people,

Homines Sylvicolæ, belliq gerentes
Quêis nec mos, neq cultus erat; nec jungere
tauros,

Aut componere opes nôrant; aut parcere prato:
Sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat,
Genus indocile & dispersum montibus altis.

VIRGIL.

* A pueris nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil contra voluntatem faciunt.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Lib. IV. c. 6.

unrestrained by any prescribed modes of artificial life, such as civil society requires, free and independent in thought and deed; feeling for themselves, and acting of themselves; living on the earth in the state in which Nature formed it; breathing that spirit of superiority and dominion which such a state of nature inspires in man *, would naturally despise the land-workers as a *fallen* degenerate race, drudges to their daily and annual toil, and prisoners to their settlements—prisoners drawing their subsistence from slavish labour and from the sweat of toil instead of the spirit and manly exertions of enterprise, and the glorious blood of arms. Thus despising them, they would estimate them and their property as much and equally their prey as the game of the forest; and they would, in their free-booting excursions, (just as I have explained above of the sea-rovers,) as in the ordinary course of their hunt, make

* Ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον· Γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτίμοισιν· τὸ ξὺν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληΐστος κάλλιστον. Herodot. Lib. V, c. 6.

Labrociniam nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis sint. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Lib. VI, c. 23.

Id beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus. Tacit. Mor. Germ. §. 46.

free with, and take such of, the produce of their labour and property as they, from necessity, or even from the insolence of caprice, chose to have. I may add here, as I said of the fishing tribes, they become prædatory free-booters, *not against but on principle*, such as it is.

In like manner, from a life of activity and arms, feeling a conscious superiority of enterprise above the quiet pastor, attentive only to his flocks and herds, and considering them as disturbing their hunts and driving off their game, these hunters would, as people of the like description under the like circumstances ever did, make reprizals by * *lifting* their cattle, not merely when they wanted them, but as a branch of the chase, within their hunt, of more than ordinary spirit and enterprise. These inroads, depredations, and captures, they would make, not under any idea of being enemies, or of committing hostilities, unless opposed, but as a superior dominant race, doing just

* I have here used a word describing, I might say almost technically, the act of this prædatory capture, practised formerly by the Highlanders of Scotland on the cattle of the Lowlanders.

what, and no more than, they, in their state and circumstances of life, had a right to do, in the same spirit as their right of chase over the game of the forest.

However, when, by the encroachment and interfering of the land-worker and pastor, as above described, they considered these tribes as doing an injury essentially obstructive to, and destructive of, their chase and hunts, the foundation of their system as forest-hunters, and the means of their support, without which they could not subsist; the case would be altered, and they and those other tribes would for ever after exist in a state of war.—Such war then would be sharpened into barbarous attacks, and in all the forms and circumstances of savage cruelty which a war of destruction and annihilation, under uncivilized modes of life, is always attended with. For, such is the war of savages.

Yet, howsoever ruinous the hostilities of these forest-hunters may be to the pastors and their flocks and herds for a time; howsoever dreadful an enemy they may be to the thinly-scattered defenceless settlements of the landed inhabitants; and how-
soever

forever obstructive and destructive to the operations of the land-workers ; yet, as these *Homines Sylvicolæ*, as forest-hunters, could not continue on any ground where their game is disturbed, and whence it is driven off, and which ceases to be a chace or hunting-forest ; they must either change their mode of life, and cease to be a hunter-nation, or retire to more remote forests and *hunts*. Those of these forest-hunters who were so intermixed with, or surrounded by, the pastor and land-working tribes ; and by their settlements and range of grazing, that they could not retire, would decline in their population, as the room for their mode of life was straightened, and as the means of their subsistence was cut off : they must, in part, change their course of life by degrees, and finally be melted down into the general mass of the surrounding inhabitants. This, in fact, was the fate of the Celts, intermixed with the Scythians, Thracians, and other Grecian states, with the Illyrians and Iberians. Those western and most advanced tribes of migrating *Achs*, who continued their sylvan life, would, as in fact they did, retire still more and more west to the forests, as far as they could find such unoccupied. Those on the Da-
noub,

noub, its waters, and its vale, would, as they did, retire to the heads of the Danoub, where * Herodotus tells us they were found to be, and thence to the Alps, both Cisalpine and Transalpine, and the Cevennas; and into those parts of Gaul, where, as one third part of that people, they were afterwards settled as a nation become organized and policied.

The reader will, I hope, excuse me, and permit me to insert an observation, which I wish him to make, that by this account of those Celts, who settled in the south-east parts of Gaul, which I have here given; by the account of the Picts, Thanes, and other Cimbric colonists settling in Aquitain, which I have given in the former part of this treatise; and by the account I have given of the Belgæ, migrators from the Suevi or Swuebi, passing the Rhine, and settling upon, and possessing the lower parts of Gaul,

* Αρξάμενος [scil' Δανυβίοις] οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίας δυσμίων, μὴδ' Κινητίας, οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ.

Herod. Lib. IV. c. 49.

"Ἐστὶ ράχισ ὁρεινὴ πρὸς ὄρεας τῇ Πυρρήνῃ τὸ καλούμενον Κεμμενὸν ὄρος· τελευτᾷ δὲ τὸ εἰς μέσσηλα τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πείδιον. Τῶν δὲ Ἀλπίων αἱ ἔσιν ὄρη σφόδρα ὑψηλὰ, περιφέρει ποικίλων γραμμῶν, τὸ μὲν κυρίον Ἰταλίαι πρὸς τὰ λέχθενια τῶν Κελτῶν πείδιον, καὶ τὸ Κεμμενὸν ὄρος.

Strabo, edit. Casaub. Lib. II, p. 88.

bordering

bordering on that river; I have met the fact, which Cæsar states, of the division of Gaul into three parts, Celtia, Aquitania, and Belgia; and have moreover given some probable, I think an actual, account of the inhabitants of each part.

I shall presently consider the process of the changes which these Western Celts underwent. But I must now first advert to this *appellative* which they assumed, or had given to them; and, finally, to the *gentile name* they were called by.

These *Homines Sylvicolæ*, as we find them called in a fragment of Nævius, dwelling thus apart, and in a totally different line of life and situation from the pastor and land-working tribes, would of course assume or acquire a distinctive appellative; they would naturally be described, or describe and distinguish themselves, as woodmen or woldsmen, by whatever word or words, as formed by different people, this idea may have been announced, or by themselves. They were called by their *settled* neighbours Gaoul, or Galli; and in their procession * *Gallatæ*;

* Gaul-aifæ—Γαλλᾶσαι Κέλτων εἰσιν ἄποικοι.

Strabo, lib. 3.

by themselves Celtæ, or Κελτοί, a title not only of distinction, as to their mode of life, but of honour, felt, and assumed, as

Homines Sylvicolæ, bellicue gerentes,

in a rank of being superior to the drudging land-workers, or the debased attendant on brute animals.

This appellative, which would not at first be peculiar to any particular nation of this description, or exclusively applied to any one people of this sort, was an appellative by which these woodmen and forest-hunters * were called by every nation near to or intermixed with which they still remained. † There were Celtæ amongst the nations of the Scythians, the Indians, the Thracians, the Thessalians, and other Grecians, amongst the Illyrians

* Ὅψι δὲ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς κάλεισθαι Γαλάτας ἐξηγήκησε, Κέλτος γὰρ καὶ αὖτε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Pausanias, Lib. I. c. 3.

Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὰς συμπόλλας Γαλάτας ΚΕΛΤΟΥΣ ὑπὸ τῶν προσαγορευθῆναι διὰ τὴν εὐφρανίαν. Strabo, Lib. IV.

† Ἀπαντὰς μὲν τὰς πρὸς βόρρην, κοινῶς οἱ πάλαιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς Σκυθὰς, καὶ Κέλαιο-σκυθὰς ἐκάλεον,

Strabo, Lib. II.

Τὰς δὲ Κέλεις ἀναμεμιγνύμενας τοῖς Θράξι καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυρίοις ἐξεπορεύθησι. Strabo, Lib. VII.

and

and Iberians. These Sylvan hunter-tribes are distinguished from the neighbour and surrounding tribes, not as of a different race, but solely as to their mode of life and habitancy; and were therefore called Celtæ or Κελται. This distinctive appellation more particularly took place, as more particularly distinguishable, on the borders of the mercantile and land-working colonies of the Hellenists, Phœnicians, and other southern adventurers, who settled every where on the coasts of Europe from the Euxine sea to the Columns of Hercules. This appellative took place just as the word and name Indian hath done in America, a name by which we Europeans, settled on the coasts of America, call the Sylvan nations indiscriminately and universally from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn.

I desire it may not be here understood as though I supposed the word *Indian*, or *Anjou*, to signify a *Sylvan* man. It signifies simply the animal *man*, as distinguished from the *brute* animal. However, when the Indian was asked, what or who are you? and answered *Anjou*, he took a distinctive appellative to distinguish him from the brute animal: just as the

Κελται

Κελτοί assumed, or had given to them their appellative Sylvans, as distinctive from the pastor and landworking tribes, living on campaign and clear lands.

The antiquary must here see, that as these Celts were expansions of, or migrating tribes from, the original Dteusch stock, and that all, whom we have been able to find, those who retired into Gaul excepted, * had their inhabitancy, although differing in mode, mixt in and amongst the regions of the original fraternal branches; their language must have been originally Dteusch. We must see that the Celtic language was not, as is commonly and vulgarly supposed, that of the Cymri, either Ersh or Welsh. The Cymric, or Cimbric, language, used and spoken in Gaul, was not the language spoken by the Celts, but by the inhabitants of Aquitaine only; who, as I have before explained, were colonies and settlements of the Pecs and Tha-senes. Nevertheless, as the

* Φημι γὰρ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων διέειν, ὥσπερ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέση. τὰ γινώσκοντα ἐνὶ οὐρανῷ Σκυθὰς ἐκάλεον ἢ Νομάδας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπεραν γνωσθέντων, Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰσθηεῖς, ἢ συμμίκτως Κελτίσθηες καὶ Κελτισκύθαι προσηγορεύοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁνομα τῶν καθέκαστα ἔθνων ταυτομένῳ διὰ τὴν ἀφροίαν.

Strabo, edit. Casaub. 1585. Lib. I. p. 22.

Cymric and Dteusch language were originally of one root, being the language of one original family. I can suppose the Celts, more than any other tribes of the Dteusch, to have retained many Cymric words and expressions; and that, perhaps, they had not wholly lost these when they became an organized and settled nation in Gaul. I can suppose thus for these two reasons; first, as they retained their *original* sylvan mode of life, so they had within themselves few alteration of circumstances, which required new modes of expression; secondly, they having but little intercourse, or intercommunion, with the other tribes, would have few occasions, and less inclination, to mix their language. The reader will, perhaps, have observed, that, in speaking of the various tribes settled in Troia, Theffaly, Thrace, and Greece, I have incidently mentioned several Cymric words and expressions.

But that the Celtic language, the language of the *Κελτοι*, was neither spoken, written, or known, as any language specifically so called in Britain, we have the direct testimony of the venerable* Bede.

This

* Quinque gentium linguæ unam eandemque summæ veritatis, veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et conficitur,

This treatise has now brought my account of the *Celts* to those tribes who retired up the Danoub up to his heads; and took their range of hunts on the Alps, both Cisalpine and Transalpine; and, on the heads of the Rhine, and down that river; and in that third part of the country, afterwards called Gaul. They could not go farther West, as the western parts were occupied by the Aquitani, whom Herodotus, taking a part for the whole, properly calls *Kυνηται*. And they were repressed from the lower parts by the Belgæ, as above mentioned.

In this situation, straightened in their forests and hunts, compressed into approximation; increasing their planting branch of supply; and in some degree, and in their own peculiar mode, engaging in agriculture; they, in part, changed their sylvan life; and did, in part, coalesce into a certain *communion* of society. They of course, the three causes of population herein conspiring, got into the progress of

Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum, Latinorum.

Bede. Eccle. Hist. L. I. c. 1.

Omnes nationes & provincias Britanniae, quae in quatuor linguas (id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, & Anglorum) divisae sunt, in ditione accepit [Rex Oswaldus.]

Bede, Eccle. Hist. lib. III. c. 6.

ad-

advancing population. The human-being, thus coming into approximation of the species, and into that inter-communion of the sexes, which society gives occasion and course to ; and applying the labour of the family to a rich and fertile soil, in a fine climate ; advancing to great surpluages of provision ; would soon abound in populousness.

They became thus settlers, not fixed however, to private and exclusive property, but by a revolving occupancy of settlements, round a centre ; and no longer ex-centric. The œconomy of the family, and the labour done on the land, were chiefly done by the women, children, and slaves. The men still continued *forest-hunters* and *warriors*, not only as separate *free-booters* ; but from the conditions of their own circumstances, and from the nature of their neighbours, formed by degrees into organized bodies of confederation, under a degree of military subordination. In this very state were the *Celts* of Gaul (called by the Romans *Galli*) found when the Roman state first began to have wars with and knowledge of them. At the time in which these tribes first became a national community, and were organized into the

form of government, history may fairly, at least the antiquary may fairly, suppose, (as there is no other period to be fixed on, nothing which contradicts it, and as it is the most natural,) that, at this period, the word *CELT* first became a collective Gentile name, not only as it retained the original honorary appellative of the forester, but as it was expressive of the character * of the warrior, a description of themselves which all mankind, under different names, gloried to hold forth.

These people, thus become populous to a degree † of plethorism; powerful and military, partly from a ‡ temper of recoil, springing back upon their oppressors; partly from a spirit of enterprise, natural to a people in their situation and habits of life; and partly from the § necessity of

* Gill, Gild, Kilt, Validus. Leibnitius, qui in Celticis, p. 104, ex Pontano hoc adfert, putare videtur, Celtas ab hac voce nomen accepisse.

I. Thre', Suero-Gothic. Gloss.

† Abundans multitudo.

Liv. lib. V. § 34.

‡ Fuit autem tempus cum Germanos Galli virtute superarant, et ultro bella inferent.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. VI. § 44.

§ Ac propter hominum multitudinem, agrique inopiam, trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Id. Ibid.

Tit. Livius, lib. XXXVIII. c. 16. Pausanias, lib. X. c. 19.

Justinus, lib. IV. p. 6.

send-

sending out swarms from their superabundant population; made incursions, prædatory invasions, and, finally, settlements amongst the Dteusch, to the Eastward of the Rhine; sent out colonies, in very early times, before the Romans knew any thing of them.

These emigrating armies had the appellative Galli and * Gallatæ. The first word expressive of migration, the second of *migrating swarms* from a hive. Γαλάται τῷ Κελτίκῳ Γένει as Plutarch expresses the word in his life of Camillus.

If the antiquary shall, upon research, find this opinion, which I have suggested, to be true; that the name Celt, however it may be found, as a distinctive appellation of tribes living the sylvan life, in every part of Europe, in Illyria, Thrace, and Greece, in the earliest times of history; yet never and no where existed as a collective Gentile name, except in the regions afterward called Gaul; if he shall also

* Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum D. Julius tradit: eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 28.

find it true that when these tribes so become a nation, and sent out colonies ; it will reconcile and accord all the contradictory * opinions into which the learned have been led, and which they have each maintained, concerning the people bearing this name.

If the History of Europe were traced in its first origin to the root, in some such lines as have been suggested, and in part explained, by examples, it would be found to have been originally inhabited by one race of people traced up to Japetus or Japhet ; and that the processions of the generations and inhabitancy of this race

* 1. That all the nations of Europe were originally *Celts*, that is, *hominas sylvicolæ*, forest-hunters.

Abraham Ortelius, Hardonen Hoffman. & Pelloutier.

2. That the Celts inhabited the greatest part of Europe, Pezron, Veler, Scaliger, de Bertz, de Cocceie, Spencer, Mezerai, Gedoyn, & Le Gendre. Cluver, excepting however the inhabitants of Italy, is of this opinion.

3. Others do not give the appellative *Celt* to any nations but those of Germany and Gaul.

Volaterran. Glarean. Obrecht, Schelter, Leibnitz, and the Count de Bunan.

4 Others think the Germans alone were Celts, and that the Gauls afterwards received the appellative as a name from them. Browker. Marhoff.

Vide Dissertation of Mr. Schæpelin, § 3.

branched

branched in Europe in two fraternal lines, the Cymric and Teutsch, traced up to Gomer and Teus : as also, that the tribes of the Celts, part of the latter family, retaining the original sylvan life, dwelt amongst the Dteutsch, till, in process of time, they became a distinct nation in Gaul ; that all these originally spoke one and the same language ; and that, however, from different modes of life, and government ; from separate inhabitancy ; from innumerable necessities and occasions in the progress of the different lines of civilization of each people ; separate and distinct, which must create new, and borrow adventitious words, their language may afterward differ from each other ; yet most of the originally radical words of the Greek, Dteutsch, Cymric, and Celtic language, will be found to have a near agnition.

Thus much as to the point in question, who these people were. In the next research, what they were. This treatise wishes to suggest, that that inquiry ought to be pursued by a line, wherein principles and facts combine. And it now proceeds to give some faint sketch of that line.

Man is by his animal system, and by the passions implanted in his nature, formed * *to increase and multiply, and to replenish the Earth*. The human race hath always actually increased † in proportion to their approximation in Society ‡; to the space of land which they had wherein to locate themselves and family §; to the subsistence which the peculiar system under which they live requires and affords. Whilst men continued living *the Sylvan life* ||, gathering the spontaneous vegetables and fruits of the woods, or as hunters catching the wild animals of the

* There are no bounds to the prolific nature of plants and animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's subsistence.

Dr. Franklin's Thoughts on Population.

† I have heard, when I was in the Indian country in North America, another collateral reason assigned for the slow progress of population amongst them, taken from the following fact. That the woman sucking her child never admits her husband to co-habit with her, until her child, getting its teeth, is weaned. This looks so like to, and seems to to derive from, natural circumstances, that one would be almost induced to guess from analogy, that the like must have taken place in other nations under the like circumstances.

‡ *Agrestia poma et recens fera.* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

§ Dr. Franklyn's Thoughts on Population.

|| *Genſque virũm truncis et duro robore nata
— genus indocile ac diſperſum.*——Virgilius.

foreſt,

forest, for their food; they would, from the mode of that life, and from the nature of that occupation, multiply but slowly. The hunter, removed by his long range of hunt far from the women; abstracted from all feelings and ideas about them; absent long from mixt Society; intent upon his pursuits in the forest; and in continued *training of strong exercise*; does not even feel those animal incitements, nor those attractions of the heart, which in every other situation are constantly soliciting the man. The subsistence of the hunter is to be sought far and wide; his supply is *asper victu*; and he must always feel the bounds of his lands straightened. The Sylvan Hunter Nation, from principle, never could be prolific and populous, and in fact never was.

A region, occupied and employed only as a hunt, can give subsistence but to a few ranging scattered hunters. I speak not only of what I may be supposed to know, but what is of common notoriety. “ America is chiefly occupied by Indians, “ who subsist mostly by hunting: but, “ as the hunter, of all men, requires the “ greatest quantity of land, whence to “ draw his subsistence (the husbandmen “ sub-

“ subsisting on much less, and the garde-
 “ ner on still less, and the manufacturer
 “ the least of all), the Europeans found
 “ America as fully settled as it could
 “ be *by hunters*.” The numbers of the
 inhabitants, however, bore no proportion,
 according to the ideas of the *landworker*,
 to the space which they occupied.

The forests and mountains of Europe were, in the original inhabitancy, possessed and occupied in like manner by scattered tribes of sylvan people, subsisting on the spontaneous vegetation of earth and trees; and on the flesh of the wild animals of the forests. Such were originally the *Celts* (by whatever various appellatives called by their neighbours). It is common to the Indians of America as well as to the Celts of Europe, to have about their temporary residences temporary planting grounds. Yet this temporary residence, this temporary planting and partial branch of supply, from legumes, pulse, and roots, have never led to agriculture, or the fixing these sylvan rovers as settled landworkers. There is not, that I know of, any one instance of the Indians in America becoming either a pastor nomade or a land-working settler. And, I think, the course

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of

of this treatise has shewn, that the Celts of Gaul becoming so was owing to other and external causes.

When fabulous history supposes the sylvan inhabitants of Europe* to have been composed into some civil forms, and to have received laws from Saturn, this was but the mere patriarchal government of authority, not of coercion, exactly the same as that by which the Sachem and council-men govern the Indians of their tribe. These people changed not their habits, or their habitancy, or the system of their life. They approached not in closer contact by society, nor increased their subsistence to any superabundance; they never, therefore, abounded in population.

Exactly as the American Indians have been superseded in their habitancy, and driven off their hunts, by the European expanding his settlements†, so do those

* Composuit legesque dedit.

Virg. *Æneid.* lib. VIII. v. 322.

† Belli rabies, amorque, successit habendi

Tum manus Ausoniæ, & gentes venêre Sicaniæ

Sæpius & nomen posuit saturnia tellus

Tum Reges, &c. Virg. *Æneid.* Lib. VIII. v. 327.

sylvan *Aborigines*, as they are called, seem to have been driven back by the foreign Eastern colonists and adventurers, who came and settled first on their coasts, and thence expanding, by their land-working powers, and the operation of organized government, their settlements up into the interior of the country. There is, however, this essential difference between the fate of the Indian of America and the Celt of Gaul; the one never has *yet*, in any one instance, become a settler and land-worker, but has worn away in a languid decline to annihilation; the other, when there was no farther a field, to go in search of unoccupied forests, and undisturbed hunts, became a national society, became populous, took the forms and orders of organized government. These Celts became, although retaining the spirit and form of foresters, a powerful civilized people, who recoiled on those who had before pressed upon them. This, according to the principles of human nature, and the course of facts in the actual history of these people, hath been the fate of the sylvan hunter of Europe.

The progress of the processions and fate of the fisherman, navigator, and
marine-

since he prepared a draft on the subject of this part, seen the account of these Tartar tribes, and of their advance into the Roman territories, which Mr. Gibbon gives in his history, founded in so much more extensive learning, and illumined with so much better information than the author possesses, or pretends to, he, suppressing what he had written on this head, begs to refer to that learned gentleman's history of the decline of the Roman Empire. However, from an opinion which he hath many years ago formed, from what he imagines his own experience hath led to, of the *three races of man*, which inhabit this globe, the white, the red, and the black. He ventures to describe the nature and character of these Tartar tribes, which he supposes to be of the *Red Race*, distinct from the European White Race. The specific form of their skulls, the coarse texture of their hair, as well as their colour, mark them of a specifically distinct family from the European. Their original language, since called the 'Sclavonian, was quite different from either the Cumric or Dteusch. Although they fell into the same habits of life as the forest-hunters, the *Celts*, and as the Scythian Nomads, yet the temper of their mind was more ferocious, brutal, and less susceptible of human feeling. In short,

short, they were not only in their body and in their mind different from the European ; but, if the human being has any standard, less conformed to that standard.

But this treatise will now proceed farther, as in the explanation so to the application of this theorem, which gives the rule whereby to mark the fluctuating state of population amongst nations and people, according to their internal modes of life and their external state of habitancy.

The period of the greatest population of the pastor-nation, as a roving people of passage, is that moment, when, having carried their grazing to the highest improvement which their pasture-lands are capable of, and having extended the range of them to the utmost extent which they can occupy, they draw a *subsidiary part* of their subsistence from tillage and planting, without yet being so engaged in the system of the landworker as to become settlers. This is the period in which they can bring the greatest number of men into the field; and in which they can emigrate with the greatest multitudes in a body.

Such are the sources, and such the principles, on which the population of the race
of

of men, in their various circumstances of inhabitancy, and life, depends, and from which it derives. Hence may be explained the reason why the same people, under different habits of life, and various circumstances of inhabitancy, may be at one time progressive to populousness, at another stationary, and at another declining. This may account for that plethorism of populousness with which, at one time or another, almost every nation hath abounded and overflowed. Hence may be deduced a knowledge of those circumstances, in each people, which enabled them to send out colonies, or even to emigrate in their whole body. This also accounts for those reciprocations of ascendant and declining power, which almost every nation, in the first stages of the inhabitancy of Europe, hath felt within itself, and experienced from others. In the *vegetating state* (if I may so express myself) of civil community in these first periods of inhabitancy, its capacities, its possessions, its occupations, are perpetually changing, as these reciprocally, and alternately, give expansion to, or repress, each other. Hence the population of such community, under such circumstances, must of course be in a continual fluctuation between increase
and

and decrease, or for some temporary periods stationary betwixt the two. One while it would advance to a plethorism of populousness which would exceed all belief in those who had not particularly considered these matters. Such community, reported by history in this progression only of its being, would appear as a nation having within itself an unceasing source of population, which the common way of estimating the nature of people, as they now are in a settled and fixed state of society and government, could never account for*. Philosophers, therefore, with more ingenuity than foundation in reason or fact, have supposed some imaginary youth and vigour of the world; but all this is beyond the mark. Wherever, in any degree, any community hath in the present period of the world, existed under like circumstances, the population of that community hath always advanced and increased to a proportionate degree, of which the British American colonies, and more especially

* To prove, therefore, or account for the greater populousness of antiquity, by the imaginary youth and vigor of the world, will scarce be admitted by any just reasoner. These general physical causes ought entirely to be excluded from that question.

Hume's Essay on the populousness of Ancient Nations.

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the New Independent States, are, amongst other instances, an example.

Although these nations, however populous, cannot be * estimated in strength equal to what their numbers render them capable of, until they shall have advanced in their civilization to some degree of union of power, and of subordination to lead: yet are they equally strong as their neighbour nations of the like sort. Hence, in these early periods of the inhabitancy of Europe, as this or that nation, in the East or in the West, arose in its population above the level of its neighbours, like an ascending wave it bore down upon those below it. In this way one wave followed or met another, in perpetual undulations; and the whole of the inhabitancy of Europe was like a troubled ocean, where all was in perpetual motion in all directions †,

* Ορηίκων δ' ἔθνος μεγιστόν ἐστι, μεία γ' Ἰνδῆς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐπὶ ἀρχαίοιο, ἢ φρονέοιτο κατὰ τῷτόν, ἀμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη, καὶ πολλῶν κρείττισον τῶν πάντων ἐθνέων, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸτο ἔμπορον σφί καὶ ἀμήχανον μήκοτε ἐγγενήται.

Herod. Lib. v. c. 3.

† Μείνανταςέσεις γὰρ δέδεικται τῶν πλεονοχέων εἰς τὰς αἰσθητάς· Strabo. Lib. vii, p. 305.

as the temporary plethorism of populoufness, in this or that nation, gave spring to such motion. It was not in any one nation, or in any one period of the world's fertility, in which, more at one time than another, and more anciently than at present, the antiquary need look for the causes and sources of these plethorisms of populoufness. Such have taken place in all ages and in all people wherever, for the time, those circumstances, which are the sources of it, have combined and operated. In the progress of the civilization of communities * every nation hath found its population fluctuate from increase to decrease, and at times become stationary. By these principles, combining with facts like these, the antiquary will easily account for all those changes of inhabitancy, that

* Αὐξηθέντες δ' ἂν ἐπιπλεῖσον, οἳ τε Γέται οἳ τε Δάκοι, ὧν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἐκπέμπειν, γραῖται, οὖν ὅσον τὰς τέτταρας μυριάδας συνεσταλμένοι τυγχάνουσιν.
Strabo, lib. vii. p. 305.

The like is reported of the Testofages, Trocmi, and Telistobogii :—Εἰκὸς δ' ἐκλελοιπέναι διὰ τὰς ἀθρόας ἀπαναστάσεις, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συμβαίνει πλεονόν.
Strabo, lib. iv. p. 187.

Cimbri, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens vestigique famæ latè vestigia manent, utraque ripâ castra, ac spacia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metearis molem manusque gentis, et tam magni exercitus fidem.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 37.

fluctuation of ascendant temporary powers perpetually rolling and recoiling * amongst the people of Europe, like the various and varied currents of a troubled ocean, running in all directions and undecided courses. But he will find in the end, that when once the spirit of melioration, and those principles which *humanize* (if I may use that expression) the animal man, had extended itself from the borders of civilized nations, and began to operate amongst those tribes of savages, who ranged beyond the Tanais, *per solitudines sine fine distantes*; then first would the storm take a decided recoil, and, like a deluge, piled up with accumulated waves on the back of each other, and pouring down with accelerated force, burst forth on the borders of the civilized and cultured world. While this humanizing spirit worked its course, in, upon, and amongst, these savage herds and clans (their population continually abounding to a degree of plethorism) they would continually advance in a contrary direction, and migrate in swarms followed up with successive swarms; and force their way

* Quotidianis præliis contendunt quam aut suis finibus alios prohibent, aut ipsi in aliorum finibus bellum gerent.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. I. § 1.

with a ferocious spirit, and irrefragable body of warriors, which more perfect discipline, with a less ferocious spirit, could not resist.

Thus it was that the ALANS, increasing in population*, *populosæ gentes et amplæ*, advanced over the Tanaïs; thus it was that the HUNNS, in numberless nameless tribes advancing on the back of each other, advanced upon the Alans; thus it was that these Alans, Hunns, and Tartar tribes, united, advanced upon the half civilized and half-settled Goths, Sarmatæ, Jazyges, &c. † Howsoever superior the Scythian nations had proved to the Roman arms on the extreme frontiers of the empire, they were yet inferior to these Tartars in their rear.

These Nomade hunter-clans and pastordhords, who extended, as Ammianus Marcellinus says, lib. XXXI. eastward as far as

* Καὶ πλεῖται καὶ βίᾳ διαφείροντες.

Strabo, Lib. xi.

Ammian. Marcellinus, Lib. xxxi.

† Neque Hunnorum nomen Scythas, neque Romanos Scytharum ferre. Eunapius.

the Ganges, and westward (as * Saxo Grammaticus finds) to the eastern borders of the Baltic Sea, were those people, whom, because they dwelt beyond *the historic horizon*, the ancient poets and historians describe as dwelling beyond the borders of the earth, beyond chaos, and, as it were, out of existence. At this period, however, they came forward into historic existence, and became great and principal actors on the historic horizon of these later times.

Of all those people above described, whether Cimbric, Celtic, Teutonic, Gothic, Scythian, or Tartar nations, who became finally the destroyers of the Roman Empire, it may be said generally, that during their advancing operations they never became settled land-workers, nor suffered in any degree their inhabitancy to interfere with the principle of their being an army. They held and maintained *this principle unalterably*, which they never suffered any advance in the modes of their supply, or any improvements in

* Danicæ Hist. lib. V. where Frotho the Third is represented as engaged with them, both populous and powerful, in various serious wars, and severe battles of enormous carnage, about twenty or thirty years before the Christian æra.

the state of their landed possessions, to break in upon. * Their cabins, huts, and tents, were mere temporary structures on the spot, made of such materials as the local supplied, or such as they carried with them. Those who were enabled to enjoy a more refined comfort of a home, had for their sleeping-houses, covered carts and waggons, *a travelling home*. Although in this stage they drew a very considerable part of their supply from tillage, yet the manner in which they conducted that operation never became a cause of fixing them; † on the contrary, they changed their seats, as from the habits of their life and habitancy they were always prepared to do, as new pasturage, perhaps also as

* Κοινὸν δ' εἶναι ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτη, τὸ περὶ τὰς μελιναγασίας εὐμεγεες, διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τῆς βίης, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεωργεῖν, μηδὲ θησαυρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλυβίοις οἰκεῖν, ἐφήμερον ἔχουσι παρασκευὴν. Τροφὴ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἢ πλείστη, καθάπερ τοῖς νομάσιν ὥσ' ἐκείνης μίμναι, τὰ οἰκτεῖα ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις ἐπάραυται.

Strabo, Lib. vii, p. 294.

To the same point see Herodotus, Lib. iv. c. 46.

† Διὰ τῶν δὲ τὰς μελιναγασίας αὐτῶν ῥαδίως ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων ἀγγελιδῶν καὶ πανσφατιᾶ· μᾶλλον δ' ἐκ πανοικίων ἐξαιρόντων, ὅταν ἐκ ἄλλων ὑπερβάλλονταί κρετιόνων.

Strabo, Lib. iv, p. 196.

Non se urbibus tenent et ne statis quidem sedibus. Ut invitavere pabula, ut cedens et sequens hostis exigit, ita res opesque secum trahens semper castra habitant.

new tillage lands (having worn out their old), required; or as they were driven off by more powerful hords and clans pressing upon them. It was not in those cases only which arose from necessity that they were thus ready to quit their ground; but in cases which arose from the spirit of enterprize; for, the fighting men of the nation, no ways tied down by the intermixture of their labor with the land, were always prepared, and at liberty, to march off. The Scythæ, when they made their irruptions into Media, marched off with their whole body *, leaving the women, having the care of the children, and the command of the slaves, to carry on the business of the grazing, of the herds and flocks; and of the house work. † Exactly in the same manner, and under the same habits and custom, their descendants, laterly in the times of the Romans, called Germans, occupied their lands, cultured by the women, children, and infirm, while the men of the nation were never

* Herodotus, lib. IV. c. 2.

† Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegatâ Domûs et penatium et agrorum curâ feminis senibusque, et infirmissimo cuique ex familiâ.

Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 15.

attached to the land, but trained in military exercises only, were always prompt and ready to take the field. So that, although their lands were occupied both in tillage and grazing ; yet, of the people as a nation it might be justly said, *Agriculturæ non student.*

This principle of not being mixt with the system of landworking, or attached to the land, continued invariably to be observed in every progression and gradation of improvement in their habitation, so far as respected the men of the nation. Even where, and at the time when, the community occupied the lands, as a landed and landworking people, it was in such manner as never intrenched upon this principle. The lands were the property of the community : the individuals had no fixt exclusive private property in them. There appear to have been two methods of arranging this system of œconomy and police. One was to divide the community into watches and wards. The business of the watch of the year was in its turn to take the field, as the army of the nation. The rest of the community carried on the care and conduct of the supply. The next year the soldier became again

again a land-worker ; and another watch was taken out of the body of land-workers *. This mode of occupancy and culture, and this reciprocation of labour and military service. enabled the nation by habit, as in the ordinary course and system of its life, to act as a military corps, living in camp, acting either defensively or offensively without being stopt through a want in the supply, or being obstructed by difficulties in it ; for, this was all the while going on uninterrupted and undisturbed. The men of the nation had no private property, no home, nor even a dwelling, for longer than a year. The taking, therefore, the field for war ; or the removing their seats in measures of migration, was only changing their annual fields *in a right line that advanced*, instead of doing the same thing, as of course, in a circulating one which revolved into itself.

The other method was, as follows, deriving from the same principle, and guard-

* Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. IV. § 1, expressly describes this method as a custom of the Suevi. *Hi centum Pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus, quotannis singuli millia armorum, bellandi causâ suis ex finibus educunt. Reliqui domi manent, pro se atque illis colunt. Hi rursus invicem anno post in armis, sunt illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura, neque ratio, neque usus belli intermittitur : sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco, incolendi causa licet.*

ing the same system. The lands were the property of the state; there was no private property: no individual was allowed to be a fixt settler, or to have a private home. The magistrates granted out the lands annually to successive possessors *per vices* *. They apportioned those to each family or clan, according to the numbers in each. Each family or clan divided these again amongst themselves, to suit their own convenience. It seems

* *Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis, per vices, occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiantur. Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager nec enim ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt ut pomoria conferant, et prata sepiant et hortos rigent. Sola terræ feges imperatur.* Tacitus de Mor. Germ. § 96.

Nec quisquam ægri modum certum, aut fines proprios habet; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos, gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui unâ coierunt, quantum iis, et quo loco visum est, attribuant ægri, atque anno pos alio transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas afferunt causas; ne assiduâ consuetudine capti studium belli gerendi agriculturâ commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant: potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius, ad frigora et æstus vitandos, ædificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniæ cupiditas, &c.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. IV. § 22.

Servis, non in nostrum modum descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Frumenti modum Dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis, ut colono injungit: et Servus hæc tenens paret. Cætera domûs officia uxor et liberi exsequuntur.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 25.

to me that the *arva*, or that part of the lands which were appropriated for planting and tillage, were those which were changed annually whilst the *agri*, and other lands, remained in common. The people themselves, who observed this custom, give, amongst others, this very politic reason for their observance of it. 1st. To guard against the rise in the human breast of that idea, so natural to it, the *love of home*, which, attaching itself to the habits of domestic life, would soon lose the spirit of the military. 2dly, To prevent those inequalities in power and interest amongst men, which always arise out of inequalities of property, to the disturbance of the peace, and the corruption of the liberty and virtue of the community.

Even in those cases wherein it should almost seem as if one of the principals of the nations had private exclusive landed property (although I cannot but think, that the property here spoken of was the usual allotment made in the usual way), these principal people were never the more *land-workers*, or settlers; they leased out their lands to servant-husbandmen, on condition of a rent in kind, a certain

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portion

portion of corn, cattle, and cloathing; and, as to the home or *cots-work*, that was done by the women and children of the family.

The men of the nation lived totally exempt from all labour. * If they were not engaged in hunting, in any military excursions, or in actual war, they gave themselves up to drinking, sleeping, or play. This vicious idleness was not, unless perhaps in the impracticable parts of winter, the general turn of the people. † In general their whole life was employed either in hunting, or in some of those expeditions which became a regular military training. They formed military companies under young men whose character and expectations not only gave them command, but made them, as it were, the seat and center of the spirit and honor of the company. Under establishments formed by this spirit of subordination and discipline, the young men of the nation (if their own

* Quoties bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno, ciboque.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 15.

† Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit.

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. VI. § 21.

nation was at peace) either engaged as volunteers in the wars of their neighbours; or * undertook as freebooters (just as we have seen above in the naval pirates) prædatory excursions. or colonizing migrations, which generally, in the course of human events, prepared the way to national invasions and actual conquests. † This system of warfare, from the nature of their inhabitancy, from the spirit of this character, became, as it were, the ordinary course of their life. The antiquary will have seen, that with those nations, who still continued hunters, these expeditions required little more preparation of supply than their ordinary hunting parties: That the game and the wild fruits of the woods, the fish of the waters, together with such dried millet and such other grain as was drawn from their planting grounds, became a certain supply: That those who had made farther advances in society, and farther improvements in the modes of living, had not

* *Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines ejusque civitatis fiunt.*

Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. VI. § 21.

† *Ex latrociniiis occultis et raris, a lenta impunitate adolescentem in pejus audaciam, ad bella gravia proruperunt.*

Amm. Marcell. lib. XIV. § 2.

only

only arrived at the means of abundance in their supply, but had applied the care and art of giving continuance and permanency to it. The pastor-hords were such perfect graziers, and so well knew the state of the feed of the country, that they could * *combine their marches with the range of pasture*, so as to be able to drive their herds and flocks, or at least such part thereof as was necessary, along with them. From the milk and flesh of these they had an attendant course of supply. They had a method of kiln-drying their corn and grain. They had the art of conserving (and may I not say also † flesh ?) by salt-ing. They made various confections from milk, *lac concretum*, curds, cheese, and butter. Those who had advanced still farther, so as to draw part of their subsistence from tillage, understood the

* They could not drive these in any direction which they pleased, they must be determined by the state of the feed, *ut invitaverent pabula*. Their march therefore must be *a combination of the line of march with the range of pasture*.

† This, particularly lard and bacon, &c. had been long an article of commerce drawn from Belgia, for the supply of the Roman market; as also from the Sequani; also from Spain, both without as well as within the Straights; also from Pontus, which was the prime market for the *Taracheia*.
See Strabo, lib. IV. p. 97, 144, 197.

method

method of grinding their corn, and of preserving * it in *flour* for months. The antiquary will here find, that they had all the articles of permanent stores for a campaign.

The antiquary that examines next the means of the carriage of these stores and provisions will find, that, besides what each man carried himself, this business of the *res portatoria* was little more than what they had in constant use for their annual changes of their habitations, or the occasional changes of their feeding grounds: they rather exceeded, even to embarrassment, in the number of their † *carrs* and *impedimenta*, without which they never moved.

It is a curious fact, well worth remarking, that whilst we read of the difficulties and deficiencies which the Romans, even Cæsar himself, found in the *re frumentaria*

* Trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo afferre jubent. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. I. § 4.

† Magna enim multitudo carrorum etiam expeditos sequi Gallos consuevit. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. VIII. § 14.
Equites ex Gallia cum multis carris magnisque impedimentis, ut fert Gallica consuetudo. Lib. I. § 51.

et portatoriâ, such as at times obstructed his progress; there are not, that I recollect, the like instances of the like difficulties to be found, in the movements and marches of these Barbarians, as they are called, even in a long line of march quite across the continent. They understood this business of *supplying a moving body*; and practised it as in the ordinary course of their œconomy and police.

When the antiquary shall have considered, as above, the populousness of these nations, in the periods of their plethorism; shall have considered from the nature and constitution of their community, in those periods of the progression of their civilization, the proportion of numbers, beyond what any other community in any other stage of civilization could, they could and did bring into the field, as their ordinary army, generally about one fourth, besides what, on the emergency of occasions, they could still bring forward; he will see that they must outnumber, in the line and point of action, empires much more numerous in people than themselves. In the vegetating state (if I may so express myself) of civil community, its capacities, its occupations, its inhabitancy, and

occupancy, are perpetually changing, as these reciprocally give expansion to or repress each other. The population of such a community will be, under such circumstances, in a continual fluctuation between increase and decrease, or perhaps for some periods stationary between the two. One while it will advance to a *plethorism*, which would exceed the belief of those who have not considered the matter in this light. Such community would appear, if reported in history, in this period only of its being, as an unceasing source of population, which the common way of estimating nations would not account for. And yet, perhaps, the state of the same nation, reported in some other periods of its existence, would seem directly to contradict all this.

When the antiquary shall have thus considered their population and populousness, the state of their supply, *their mobility as an armed body*, he will inquire into the strength, activity, and spirit of discipline, by which they operated; he will have seen above, that as every individual was a warrior, so the whole community was an army; and their country a system of camps; having its advanced

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guards,

guards, its warjamannes, and marco-mannes, its watches and wards, and all its rotine of duty; he will see this body not only naturally, but artificially and scientifically, organized into *active strength*. When farther he considers * the spirit of military order and attraction to a center, in which the individual war-companies were trained, and with which they were animated; and then extends his view to see how this gave life to the very soul of the whole nation; he will view these people advancing in a very different character from that of *Barbarians*; he will see them in *number, power, activity, spirit,* and *conduct*, equal to the enterprizes which they undertook, and to the success with which they executed them, in their incursions into, and invasions of, the Roman domains; and that the impressions, which

* Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentibus assignant. Cæteris robustioribus ac jampridem probatis aggregantur. Nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quinetiam et ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus quem sectantur. Magnaque et comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci; turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adæquare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam, ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo, ex acie recessisse, &c. &c.

Tacitus de Mor. Germ. § 13, 14.

they made, were not the mere explosions of brutal force; but that, on the contrary, they were *effects derived, in the ordinary course of human events, from reasoning and design, conducted with spirit and art* *.

When the antiquary comes to examine those more serious attacks; which afterward actually penetrated and over-ran, and finally overturned, from its very base, the Roman empire; he will have occasion to observe how these reiterated incursions, and a perpetual warfare, trained these people to an actual use, and habit of arms, *as an army*; and how also the very repulses they met with, and the repression, by which for a time they were forced back, served only to compress them into a closer texture, and wrought them, by degrees, into a steely temper of recoil, which the Roman arms could not repel: he will have occasion to examine (as we have already done in part, respecting the people of the Baltic

* Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac solertiæ; præponere electos, audire præpositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, valere noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa, numerare: quodque rarissimum est, *nisi ratione disciplinæ concessum*, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu.

Tacitus de Mor. Germ. § 30.

and Saxon coasts, on the Rhine and the rivers of Gaul,) the rise of a naval power on the Euxine, the Danube, and the rivers communicating with it; which became interwoven with the landed power; which facilitated all the communications of its union and communion; which gave more free and extensive powers of movement to it; and, like the veins of the human body, gave circulation, permanency, and certainty of supply, to any extent of numbers which were brought into the field: he will find that as the Cimbri, Teutones, Saxones, Goths, and Vandales, advanced up the Rhine, and up the rivers of Gaul, to the gates* of Italy, on the West sides; so the Jazyges, Goths, Scythæ, Sarmatæ, Huns, and Alans, advanced up the Danube, the Save, and Drave, to the gates also of Italy, on the Eastern side. † Strabo describes the *portages* from these waters to those which run into the two seas, the superior and inferior; ‡ the one rout by

* Claustra Italiæ—Lucius Florus—

† Strabon. Geog. lib. VII. p. 314; also lib. IV. p. 189.

‡ This rout may fairly be supposed to be known in those early times of navigation to which the fable of the Argonautic expedition is referred. See Diodorus Siculus, lib. IV.

Aquileia and Tergesta, now Trieste; the other by the Arar and Rhodanus. These were the common mercantile routs, and were as well known to the people of Gaul and Germany, as to the Romans; and were used by both for the conveyance of their provisions and military stores, as the one or the other held the command at the time.

This treatise has already drawn a sketch of that naval power which commanded the Baltic, and the North Sea or Saxon shores, the British isles, the Western coasts, as also the navigation of the Rhine and of the rivers of Gaul.

There remain in history but very few traces, and those quite detached of the map of navigation on the East of Europe; and all the most early accounts are so deformed with fable, that it is scarcely possible to form any idea of them. It is however certain, that the sea, afterwards called by the Hellenists the Euxine, was navigated by fishermen, traders, and pirates*, in the earliest time, as also by bold and daring adventurers, who braved the pirates,

* Strabo, lib. XI. p. 495.

from whose cruelties it was originally called the Inhospitable Sea. The Phœnicians or Ægyptians pushed their commercial enterprizes into this sea, and settled colonies on its Eastern coasts. The Hellenic Trojans, and afterwards the Greeks, possessed the navigation and dominion of this sea; and made many trading settlements; and established many colonies, in its Western borders. In short, this Euxine sea was, in ancient times, one of the principal marts of the then commercial world; all the rivers which ran into it were navigated, and the length of them were reckoned by days navigation. The Ister, called in its upper part the Danube *, had sixty rivers, which ran into it, all navigable †. The very first account which history gives of these naval inhabitants of the Euxine, as connected with Rome. is in Trajan's time, when, ‡ profiting of the alliance of the naval people, who dwelt on the coasts of the Euxine, he esta-

* *Amnis Danubius, sexaginta navigabiles pænè recipiens fluvios, septem ostiis erumpit in Mare.*

Amm. Marcell. lib. XXII. § 8.

† *Herod. lib. IV. chap. 53.*

‡ *Eutropius, lib. VIII. c. 2.*

blished the command of the Danube, extended to its mouth. But we find that when the Goths and other Northern people beyond the Danube, by alliance or otherwise had the assistance of this same *naval power*, they were able to make effectual incursions, not only upon the remote provinces, but upon the very limits of the empire itself up the Danube.

Zosimus says, that they penetrated through every part of Illyria, and even into Italy. By the assistance of this naval power they first invaded Asia in the years 258 and 259, of the Christian æra, and a second time by a like naval expedition in 266; and in the year 267 sailed up the Danube into the heart of the Roman dominions, *multa gravia in solo Romano fecerunt*. At the same time the Heruli, with 500 ships, forced their course through the Bosphorus, and ravaged both the Asiatic and Greek coasts of the Ægean. This expedition of the Goths, &c. up the Danube, was in the time of Claudius*; and it is from the letters which

* Trecenta viginta millia barbarorum in Romanum forum armati venerunt.

Trebellius Pollio de Divo Claudio, § 7.

Claudius Boccho, delevisimus trecenta viginta millia Gothorum, duo milia navium merisimus. § 8.

he wrote to the senate before the action, and after it to Bocchus, that we learn the numbers of the army, and of the fleet. The first he represents as consisting of 320,000 men in arms; and the latter as of 2000 ships. Although history does not here, as in the Baltic, afford any account of the origin and progress of this power; yet in these instances we see the use and effect of it. It seems not to be known till its power was felt. In like manner, in the first account of negotiations which the Romans had with the Jazyges on the Danube, one article of the peace was, that they should not use their own ships on the Danube, nor make settlements on the islands therein.

The famous cruising voyage made by the Franks is not only an instance but a proof of the spirit of enterprize, and very advanced progress, of the navigation and naval power of these people in that early period. They sailed from the Euxine sea through the Mediterranean, and, passing the straits of Gibraltar, coasted the whole Western shores of Europe, till they arrived on the Saxon shores. In the course of this voyage they made various prædatory incursions upon the coasts of Asia
and

and Greece; they attempted the same, but not with success, on the coasts of Africa: however they surprized Sicily, and made great prey at Syracuse.

The navigators of the Baltic and Saxon shores were, as we have seen, themselves the warriors. The navigators of the Euxine, and waters of the great rivers which fell into it, were not so. Yet, when by the fate of war they became subject, or by the bonds of treaty, were united in service to the warrior nations, that power, by the union of the two, was formed, which the Roman arms could never effectually repress: to which power the emperors became tributary, purchasing peace of these invaders by annual payments. Caracalla thus bought peace of the naval people of the Northern Ocean; as did Gallus of the Goths upon the Danube. But neither arms nor money could restrain the course of this increasing and ascendant power, which finally bore down all before it, even the seat of the empire itself.

The two great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube were the two avenues, the one from the Northern Ocean, the other
from

from the Euxine sea, to the very confines of Italy. And accordingly, in the vales of these rivers, on their banks, and on their waters, were the invaders of the Roman empire always found; as were the battles fought which decided the fate of it.

The experienced wisdom and grounded policy of Augustus considered * these rivers as proper boundaries of the empire; and the command of them as its defence; for, by means of these, the regions, provinces, fleets, and whole power of the empire, might have a connected system. When the Roman emperors, quitting this wise system, endeavoured to extend the empire by more advanced and more enlarged bounds, they found that they opened their flanks, less connected and less defensible, in any given point; and exposed to an enemy who was able to bring its whole force to the point of attack. The lines of defence of the frontiers

* *Cuncta suâ manu conscripserat Augustus. Addideratque consilium, coercendi inter terminos imperii, Taciti Ann. lib. I. § 11.—Mari Oceano, aut amnibus longinquis septum imperium, regiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se connexa. Taciti Annales, lib. I. § 9.*

not only diverged, but became unconnected; while the lines of attack of the enemy converged to, and were united in, the point where they acted on the offensive.

This matter of the relative numbers and force, which these invaders on one hand, and the empire on the other, could bring into the field against each other, seems to want some farther investigation, and explanation. The Roman empire had certainly not only great numbers of people, but more numerous armies; armies more highly disciplined; as also an absolute command of all those resources which support armies, and enable them to act; beyond what the enemy could possibly possess. Yet these invading Barbarians, as they are called, seem always to have advanced with numbers, which exceeded the number of the armies which the Roman frontiers opposed to them; and generally to be superior in the efforts of force with which they attacked.

We have seen above, that the whole nation of these uncivilized people wore arms; and that a fourth part at least was their actual army, effective and under arms.

arms. A policed nation, whose community is divided and distributed into various and multiplied departments of employment and service; who necessarily must have many orders and descriptions of people exempt from bearing arms; who, as many of the orders of the state, as well as the army, are unproductive towards the supply, must have a great proportion of the people of the community employed in the production of food, in the manufacture, cloathing, habitation, arms and implements of war; in the mechanic arts, in carriage, and distribution. A policed nation, who must have a numerous magistracy, a priesthood, multitudes of officers of police, multitudes of officers of revenue; and who hath also naturally, multitudes of idle, non-efficient, unproductive hands, employed only in waste, in the parade of vanity, and in subministration to luxury and vice; a nation, whose resources of revenue are perverted and wasted, could not maintain, even if they could raise, more than a defined number of troops, proportioned to the defalcated surplus of their supply and finances. A nation in such a state, and arrived at such a degree in the progression of civilization, never could maintain

(as the estimation of political calculators reckon) more than one in every hundredth part of its people as an *established* army* ; so that the numbers, which a nation in that inferior advance of civilization, under which we have described the invaders of the Roman dominions to be, can bring

* Take an existing example in modern times. People uninformed in these matters, and unexperienced in practice, are disappointed in their calculations, and wonder with astonishment that the French can now raise so many armies, and bring such effective numbers into the field, beyond any proportion of numbers which the old French Government could produce. But if we consider them, under their present state of disorganization, as this treatise hath described the state of the nations which invaded Rome, the wonder will cease, and the fact be seen as the natural effect of causes operating on the nature of man.

Have such wonderers already forgotten what successive numbers, year after year, the Americans brought into the field, maintaining and supporting them at one thousandth, one may say at one millionth, part of the expence which the European armies sent against them cost.

✓ The subjugation of the Americans was known at that time, to such as knew them on experience, to be impracticable : so would the combined efforts of all the powers of Europe allied against the French prove, had these people the prudence, the practical knowledge, and political virtue, which the Americans exhibited, in forming, or rather following, some actual system of Government. If the horrid, self-destructive, functions of the French, which prey upon their vitals, do not conquer them internally, they will not be conquered from without.

This modern example is an illustration of former facts ; and the reasoning by which former facts are explained might with use be directly applied, on the grounds of experience, to the acting towards the present case here stated.

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into the field, exceeds, *cæteris paribus*, the numbers which a *policed* nation can raise and maintain as a standing army, in the proportion of twenty-five to one, and of one hundred to one in the case of defensive service. I have said *cæteris paribus*, meaning if the total of the numbers of the nations were equal. But the superior total of the numbers of the Roman empire balanced this proportion nearer to an equipoise. And so long as the frontiers of the Roman dominions could be attacked on one point only, at one time, as their frontiers on the Rhine for instance, or on the Danube, the superior numbers armed and trained, which the Roman government had in its service, and could bring to these points, did render, and must always have rendered, those frontiers impregnable, as to any impression to be made by any general irruption. * Nothing, however, at the same time, except *continued lines* of defence, like the Chinese wall, along the whole extent of these frontiers, could

* I am justified in forming and giving this opinion when the fact turns out, that Hadrian first drew such lines from the Danube to the Rhine, which Probus afterward formed into a regular fortification by a stone-wall flanked with towers; when also Agricola and Severus built a like defence against the Scots and Picts across the island of Britain.

guard

guard against temporary inroads and partial irruptions of flying armies of this prædatory enemy ; who were from the forms and habits of their life, always prepared to make and were perpetually making, destructive inroads, or prædatory invasions on the provinces. When the frontiers of the dominions were extended in an immense circular unconnected periphery along the mountain Atlas in Africa to Ægypt ; across that vale, and the deserts of Arabia ; thence along the Eastern parts of Syria, and Asia, into the Parthian country, and so round North by the Caspian and Euxine seas ; and thence along the vales of the Dneister, the Danube, and Rhine ; and over the fortified intervals of land which lay between them ; and along the coasts and rivers of the Northern Sea, and Atlantic Ocean : And when invading enemies, such in numbers, and of such active force as hath been described, animated with unconquerable though not undisciplined spirit, recoiled upon this conquering empire, and attacked these frontiers in almost every point, with a naval force on the Eastern and Western coasts, up the waters of the Danube and the Rhine, and up those of Gaul ; when Saxons, Goths, Vandals, Franks, &c. &c. advanced upon
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the West and South-West; Germans, Alemans, Burgundians, &c. on the North; Goths, Huns, and Alans, on the North-East; Parthians on the East; and Saracens on the South and South-East; the forces of the empire which became necessary in every part that was liable to attack, in every point of time, were, howsoever numerous they were upon the whole, hardly equal in any part, and in many parts unequal to the force with which they were invaded. It was not only that the union of their system of force was thus divided; but the services and commands of the empire were separated and independent of each other. They then became not only jealous of, but interfered with, each other. These separate commands engaged in the contests, which the different factious claims to the empire created; and were generally in opposition to, if not in open war with, one another; and by engaging and employing the force of the barbarous nations against the Romans in these alternate contests, they even trained them to conquest over the Roman empire itself.

The circumstances in the natural course of events led to the dividing of the dominions of the empire into East and West; and finally,

in the political course of events, to the removing of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople.

Historians and politicians hold various opinions on the effect of this event: whether this did, or did not, leave the Western and Roman Empire, originally so called, as also the old seat of Empire, Rome, open on its flanks, and stripped of half its force, at a time when the whole was hardly equal to its defence; and thus exposed to enemies which came upon it in all directions; and finally destroyed it.

The antiquary, as the mere commentator on history, without presuming to be a politician, will discover, that, as the Western Ocean, the Rhine, and the rivers of Gaul on one part, and the Danube, on the other, were the great avenues from the West, the North, and North-East, to the very gates of Italy, the Roman provinces of the Western Empire were thus left in one flank wholly undefended, in front but half defended, and on the other flank wholly abandoned. The powers, such as have been described, both naval and landed, must

must force their way in every line and point of attack. He will see the great ascendant naval power of the Saxons, Goths, Danes, and Franks, ravaging the Western coasts; and penetrating, in conjunction with the land forces, into all the Western provinces. He will find them in Spain, in Africa, and from Africa, advancing to Rome. He will find Goths, Vandals, Alemanns, Burgundians on the Rhine; Alemanns, Goths, Sarmatians, Hunns, and Alauns, on the Danube; and advancing up these great avenues so as to penetrate Italy. He will view this division of the empire, and this removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, as the *external fundamental* cause of the dissolution and destruction of the Western or Roman Empire, whatever *instrumental* causes, internal as well as external, operated to that effect in future events.

The antiquary perhaps may be able to collect, that, even in the time of Augustus, speculation were floating on the waves of popular opinion, as to the policy of establishing a secondary metropolis, or seat of empire, in Asia, somewhere near the Euphrates; and that adulation to the Julian family fixed on the site of

old Ilium for the place. This supposition not only explains, but illustrates, one of the finest odes which Horace wrote; I mean the third of the third book. This ode appears to have been written in direct purpose to obviate the dangerous tendency of such political theorems, so contrary to the spirit and prudence of Augustus's system. The antiquary will see with what fine address these political speculations are met; and with what art the adulation is repressed, without being reprobated. The ode opens with a maxim, that the just and determined man must not be moved with the false ardor of the people calling for wrong measures: that he will fix his plan in truth and right; and will be decided by the principles of that alone. He describes this spirit of character to be that which placed the antient heroes amongst the Gods; amongst whom also he places Augustus. The ode then takes for its foundation the speech of Juno to Neptune, in the 20th book of the Iliad :

310 Ἐννοσίγαι', αὐτὸς σὺ μελὶ φρεσὶ σῇσι νόησον
 Ἀινείαν, ἥκεν μὲν ἐρυτταί, ἥκεν ἑάσεις
 Πηλεΐδῃ Ἀχιλῆϊ δαμήμεναι, ἐσθλὸν εἶν' ἴα.
 Ἦτοι μὲν γὰρ Ναῖ πολεῖς ὤρμασσαν ὄρκους
 Πᾶσι μετ' Ἀθανάτοισι Ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
 Μήπο'

Μήπορ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν αἰλεξήσιν κακὸν ἥμαρ,
Μηδ' ὁπότεαν Τροίη μαλερῶ πυρὶ πᾶσαι δάηται.

Good as he is, to immolate or spare
The Dardan prince, O Neptune, be thy
care.

Pallas and I, by all that Gods can bind,
Have sworn destruction to the Trojan
kind ;

Not e'en an instant to protract their fate ;
Or save one member of the sinking state,
'Till her last flame be quench'd with her
last gore,

And e'en her crumbling ruins are no
more. POPE.

This speech was an answer to what Neptune had said about the preservation of Æneas, whom fate had fixed to be the author of a race who should reign over men to all generations. “ Be that as it may,” says Juno; “ and be it your care to save Æneas; but the destiny of the kingdom of Troy is, that it is to be ruined, and shall never more arise unless to experience a like repeated fate.” On this decree and destiny of Heaven, thus prophetically denounced, as a religious truth,

against which these speculations are by the poet represented as rising in defiance, he founds his ode ; which is a paraphrase of Juno's speech.

P. 37. Dum longus inter sæviat Ilion
 Romanaque Pontus, quâlibet exules
 In parte regnanto beati.

P. 53. Quicumque mundo terminus ob-
 stitit,
 Hunc tangat armis, visere gestiens,
 Quâ parte debacchantur ignes.
 Quâ nebulæ pluviique rores.

Sed bellicosæ fata Quiritibus,
 Hac lege dico, *ne nimium pii*
Rebusque fidentes, avitæ
 Tecta velint reparare Trojæ.

Trojæ renascens alite lugubri
 Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
 Ducente victrices catervas
 Conjuge me Jovis, et forore.

Observe here how delicately the sentiments in which the adulation was conveyed, is touched and repressed ; as, *nimum pii—Rebusque fidentes*.

This

This is, I fear, rather a digression ; but the matter comes up so fully to the sentiment, which I had ventured to suggest on the subject of the removal of the seat of empire ; and points out so clearly what were the sentiments of Augustus and his minister on the same subject, that I hope as an antiquary I may be excused. I would venture further to say, that placing this fine ode in this point of view, places it in its true light, and gives the best illustration of it : and thus the antiquary becomes a critic.

If the learned antiquary shall examine the great event, the total change of the inhabitancy of the civilized parts of Europe, in some such line of investigation as hath been, by this treatise, in a very superficial and imperfect manner, sketched out ; if he shall consider, by facts and principles combined, in some such manner as hath been suggested herein above, the nature of the population of the human species, in the various gradations of its humanization and civilization ; he will clearly see how, at that period of this great revolution, these half humanized clans and hords of the North, having coalesced into approximations by society,

ciety, and being in a progressive state towards civilization, became, in that stage of their being, populous beyond what they ever were before, and beyond what the same will ever be again. He will see how in that stage of their progression, they retaining their war-principles, and being formed not into a politicized state, but into a national army, must have been in force equal to their numbers. When he sees this nation, as an united, locomotive, active body, living and moving as an army; and in all its movements and positions, in perfect command of its supply; he will view this great revolution, effected by these people, in a very different light from that in which it hath been commonly placed and viewed.

If the antiquary, having thus examined the causes, looks to the effect, which this general revolution must have had, and actually had; tracing that effect in the manners of these new lords of the world; he will find that he has acquired a plain clue to that labyrinth, which learning had rendered so perplexed.

Of the *two great characteristic lines* of the new establishment, one was, the *feudal*

dal state of the property of the land, and of the military service of the person: the other was the almost total disregard in which they held the civil-constitutions, as mere matter of home œconomy.

The antiquary has seen already explained, the manner in which the *principes* of the state were surrounded with attendant military *comites* or *ambactes*; pledged in the strongest *personal fealty* to their service: as also how these *principes* distributed to these their military followers, such *beneficia* as their prædatory booty, or the spoils of war, enabled them to give.

The antiquary will also have read, in the case of the *Cimbri**, (as an instance,) that the people had a distinct idea of *holding lands* from the donor as a stipendium, *on tenure of military service*. If he combines this idea with that of the community being divided into † *principes*, and

* Cimbri et Teutones misere legatos in castra Silani, inde ad senatum, petentes, ut *Martius Porulus* aliquid, sibi terræ daret, quasi stipendium, cæterum ut vellet manibus et armis suis uteretur.

L. Ann. Florus, lib. III. chap. 3.

† Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. VI. § 14.

their *clientes*, *ambactos*, or *comites*; he will derive, from these customs of these people, the *origin*, not only of *fealty* in general, but of the *landed feudal* constitution, and of *property held quasi stipendium*.

* If after these he examines, as soon as he finds an instance, how the Romans arranged the service of their frontiers, he will find them creating a like fealty, and a very similar feudal tenure of land in these parts, the lands of which Tacitus calls *Decumatos agros*, a tenure well known and established in his time. They had been long in the usage of letting the conquered lands on a † tithe-rent. Here they divided their lands into military benefices, *quasi stipendia*, the lands were called *agri limitanei*, and the officers and

* Sola, quæ de hostibus capta sunt, limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita, ut eorum ita essent, si hæredes eorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent: dicens, attentius eos militaturos si etiam sua rura defenderent. This is said of Alexander Severus.

Lampridius, in *Alexan.* chap. 58.

Veteranis omnia illa, quæ angusta adeunt Isauriæ loca, privatis [Probus] donavit, addens, ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo mares duntaxat ab militiam mitterentur.

Vopiscus, chap. 16.

† Omnis ager Siciliæ decu manus est.

Cicero in *Verr.*

soldiers

foldiers to whom they were granted were denominated *duces et milites limitanei*. The *usu fructus* was in the military tenant, on the condition of his serving in the armies on the frontiers; but the dominion and property remained in the state, and never could become private property. The heirs of these military tenants, if, after their fathers death, or at their coming to the age of eighteen, they took their fathers place in the service, succeeded to these *beneficia*, but not otherwise. This institution of a landed military, as a regulation of the defence of the frontiers, grew into a constitution of state. The Northern conquerors, when they mounted to the seat of empire, found their own usage and system perhaps more regularly arranged in practice; and it became a *fundamental establishment of their IMPERIUM*.

The antiquary will have seen that, besides this, there were amongst these people other base tenures, particularly that of soccage and menial services, prior to their conquest of the empire. Their vassals or slaves held lands under the tenure of paying a certain portion of corn and grain, cattle and cloathing.

These

These sources of men, with maintenance for their armies, together with the tribute which the conquerors assessed and levied, being thus provided for, they no more regarded nor entered into the administration of the political government than they would have entered into the house of œconomy: they held both equally below the tour of duty of a warrior. They frequently appointed the very kings, or other governors, whom they had conquered, to the government of their own kingdoms, under the tenure of paying tribute, and supplying recruits to the army; and as responsible for the obedience of the state. At other times these conquerors and commanders, according to a custom which the antiquary will have seen frequently take place, made a partition of the government, taking themselves the command of the force of it, of the army and navy; and leaving as a subordinated department, the administration of the polity, œconomy, and justice, to the regulus, the inferior king, as an office under them. At other times they appointed some of the kings or governors of other countries which they had subdued, and whom perhaps they had taken in battle; of which there are many instances. Whole nations

nations (says Dr. Mascou*, specifying particular cases) submitted themselves to the Franks, or rather only to the King, putting themselves in fealty to him, but retaining their constitution, liberties, and laws. The Dukes of Aquitain, Bavaria, and Swabia, did this. The Lombards also did the same, but under particular regulated conditions, suited to the circumstances of their government; likewise the Wisigoths and Burgundians. I believe he will seldom find them appointing any of their own principal officers, as these political commands were always considered, not only as subordinate to the military, but below the tour of duty which it was fit for a military officer to hold.

From this spirit of their considering the political constitutions and administration as merely æconomical, on which the power of the supreme command no ways depended, may be derived the reason of their kingdoms being divided into so

* Hist. of the Germans, lib. XVI. § 39; also N^o 35 and 36 of the Annotations, also Annot 26, and Annot. 3.— This book, besides being a very learned and very ingenious compilation, and a commentary on the ancient history of the Germans, grounded in real knowledge, is a perfect Bibliothèque on that subject, as more writers, than are willing to own their obligations to it, have found.

many

many distinct polities; and as the source of so many, and such various, *curiæ* and jurisdictions, laws and customs. Here the antiquary will have seen, in the original habits of these people, that the dividing the general empire into several domains, each having, within its respective jurisdiction, an independent internal political imperium, was a measure in the natural course of their system, and did no ways interrupt or interfere with the general paramount command, which they held over the countries that they conquered. In these customs he will see the origin of those great palatine offices in the state; and the source of their growing by degrees to supreme; and thence, in the course of events, to usurping the exercise of the sovereign power: and finally of their becoming absolutely sovereign. This was the case of the great officer of the Mayor of the Palace, and of all other palatines, having the prerogatives of a palace as a seat of government. From this general source, and in these two lines of derivation may be traced the foundation of all the governments in Europe, (those in the Baltic and that of Britain excepted,) which came into sovereign establishment on the decline, and at the dissolution, of the general empire of the Franks.

From

From the same source, and in the same lines of derivation, may be traced the reason why there were so many and such different civil jurisdictions and *curiæ*, distinct and independent of each other. The foregoing state of the police of these people explains how all this was consistent with the administration of their government, so long as all were under fealty which centered to the power of the Paramount and Sovereign Lord.

To the spirit of this system of government is to be imputed the turn of the laws of treason. The political government and community, being not only separated from the sovereignty, but being considered by the sovereign as a mere subordinate matter of administration scarce worth his attention, the crime of treason took place only by acts against the sovereign: and was indicted and punished only in that predicament. From this mode also of considering the persons of the nation, not under the idea of members of a community living under and entitled to personal rights; but, as the king's soldiers and subjects, members of his military imperium; all offences and injuries, committed upon the subject or his feudum, were,

were, upon the supposition * that the sovereign was thereby injured, either by the loss of his soldier, or by that soldier being rendered in his person, or in his possession, incapable, or at least less capable, of serving his Lord according to his engagement, prosecuted or indicted as offences against the sovereign, and not under the idea of doing justice to the individual, on the ground of his claim to protection in his own right.

The antiquary might, in like manner, trace the ground of all the alterations, which this feudal system of government, when it became established in all its rigors under hereditary monarchs, made in the constitution of those states wherein the *salus populi (et non Domini) suprema lex fuerat*.

But these are subjects which may be thought more proper for the consideration of the lawyer or statesman than the antiquary. And as, although I think it the duty of every freeman to understand the laws of a state of which he is a member, I do not presume to be a lawyer, I will here cease *Magna modis tenuare parvis*.

* *Læsa aut imminuta majestas.*

After a general review of this great revolution in the inhabitancy and government of Europe, analysed in its cause, and traced in its effects, to the general establishment of the new system, in some such lines as have been here suggested and sketched out ; the antiquary of each country may take his own peculiar course of enquiry into the antient state and operations of his own nation and government.

Remarks on some Criticisms made
by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, on
two or three Parts of Governor
Pownall's Book, intituled, "No-
tices of Antiquities remaining
in the Provincia Romana of
Gaul."

MR. WHITAKER, in a late ingenious
and learned work which he has pub-
lished, intituled, "The Course of Hau-
nibal over the Alps ascertained," has
thought it worth his while to go out of
his way to exercise his criticism on some
parts of my notices, which were pub-
lished not for the information of such la-
boriously learned men as Mr. Whitaker,
but for the use and amusement of such
desultory readers, and such idle travellers
as myself. However, as I wish to be ac-
curate even in trifles; and not to be mis-

apprehended or misrepresented, even in the humble character of an author, I will endeavour to justify my Notices; stating them to be as they are, however insignificant they may be.

This lively gentleman is pleased (vol. I. p. 37.) to flatter me in a manner which I neither desire nor deserve; that I have described the Triumphal Arch at Orange with ingenuity and judgement; yet, at the same time, says, “ that I have
 “ thought without accuracy, and con-
 “ cluded without evidence; that the
 “ passages which I have quoted from
 “ Strabo in confirmation of my opinion,
 “ concerning the origin of this arch, de-
 “ stroy all I have written about it.” He then * confounding two very different things as the same, sc. trophies [Trophæal Monument and Saxeæ Turres,] and triumphal arches, says, “ that these mo-
 “ numents (sc. Trophæal) could not,
 “ (common sense forbids it,) be fixed on
 “ the field of battle, the open heath, or
 “ bleak mountains, on which the bat-

* This is a favourite expression with Mr. Whitaker; be that my apology for using so uncivil a term to a learned and reverend gentleman.

“ tles were fought, notwithstanding what
 “ Strabo and Florus seem to insinuate ;
 “ and as all our writers have taken for
 “ granted from them.” This is an argu-
 ment *à priori* set against *fact*. The fact
 is, that these trophies, and trophæal mo-
 numents, were actually set up on the
 field of battle, *in loco pugnae*, and on the
 bleak mountains. *Pompeius de victis His-*
panis Trophæa in Pyreneis jugis constituit,
Sallustii fragmenta, Ap. Serv. whilst
 triumphal arches were, as I have ex-
 plained and distinguished them, erected
 in the very situations which this gentle-
 man fixes upon for trophies or trophæal
 monuments.

If I had thought, as he states me to
 have thought, or had concluded, as he
 concludes for me, he certainly would
 have been founded in his criticism : but
 if any poor opinion of mine was so far
 worth his notice, that it could have ar-
 rested for a moment the quickness of his
 conception, and the rapidity of his pen,
 he would have seen with what an endea-
 vour at accuracy (in pages 36, 7, 8) I
 have distinguished trophæal monuments,
 erected on the fields of battle by the ge-
 nerals and their armies, from triumphal

arches, erected by the authority of government, after these generals had been admitted to the honour of a triumph. He would have seen, that although I suppose the triumphal arch at Orange to have been erected to the honour of Fabius Maximus, and in commemoration of his victory gained near the Isar; yet I state both Fabius Maximus, and Dom. Ænobarbus, to have erected distinct trophies, each his respective monument on his own respective field of battle; and I quote Strabo to this point, and not to the point which Mr. Witaker mistakes and misstates. Although I say, which Strabo, as quoted by me, confirms, that each built his trophæal monument on his respective field of battle; “ Yet, I say, that these
 “ stone towers, so built by the generals
 “ and their armies, could only be tro-
 “ phæal monuments; in that no one
 “ could presume to erect a triumphal
 “ arch but by authority of government,
 “ after he had obtained the honour of a
 “ triumph.”

If this gentleman, instead of imputing want of accuracy to me, had read these passages with *his* usual accuracy, he would have spared the criticism which
 he

he made, “ that I had thought without
 “ accuracy ; and had made quotations of
 “ facts which destroy all I had written
 “ about the origin of this triumphal
 “ arch.” If he had applied his usual
 acuteness of judgement to the reasons
 which I give why this could not be re-
 ferred to Ænobarbus *, and to those
 which induce me to conclude that it was
 erected to Fabius Maximus, I dare vouch
 for his candour, that he would not have
 said that I conclude without evidence.
 I do believe that he would allow that the
 conclusion was fairly drawn, although I
 do not assume to *ascertain* ; I go no far-
 ther than conjecture, (p. 39.)

NUMBER II

In a subsequent note (vol. I. p. 87.) of
 this work, Mr. Whitaker laments that
 the unwelcome lot of dissecting and ex-
 hibiting a signal instance of my *geogra-
 phical confusedness* has fallen to him ;

* I much doubt whether any triumphal arch was ever
 erected to Dom. Ænobarbus.

yet, in the doing of this, *haud suaviter in modo*, he assumes an air of superiority in a language used only by school-masters towards their school-boys. However, I console myself with being assured, that the reprehending and correcting language which he uses arises more from habit in the manner and style than from his temper and spirit; as I find others (Polybius and Livy especially) exhibited, dissected, and corrected, in the same manner and style of criticism, whenever their geography or descriptions differ from his; although they are perhaps describing very different places, or very different circumstances, from those which this gentleman has preconceived. I will put a few samples in a note below*.

My

* Whitaker, vol. I. p. 126. Yet Livy, with that indistinctness of geographical vision, which begins here to perplex his historical views; and which appears oversetting his historical ideas hereafter, describes Hannibal, at this point, as turning to the left.

P. 127. Livy was not aware of his own contradictions, he did not know that his remarks were confuted by his facts.

P. 204. Livy hardly knows the just meaning of his words.

P. 300. Livy's assertion, that the Veragri were inhabitants of the Pennine Alps, is a strong evidence of what I have noted before, his unskilfulness in the general geography of the regions through which he had been hitherto conducting Hannibal.

P. 361,

My offence is, the “ being of opinion
 “ with those learned antiquaries, who
 “ have,

P. 361. So very unskilful is Livy in the very incidents of his own period! so treacherous in his memory, or so imperfect in his notices, even of the most recent and most public events.

P. 362. So much does Strabo vie in contradictoriness and confusion with Livy.

P. 374. Never, sure, was a writer more completely confuted than Livy thus is by his own facts; he falls upon his own sword; he dies by his own hands.

Vol. II. p. 97. The truth is, Livy in the former passage has confounded the Libui and Cenomanni together, &c. We see also Livy bringing over the Salluvii of Marseille where he had just fixed the Cenomanni before; so corrects the mistake without knowing it; and adds a contradiction to the error without being conscious of it.

P. 231. With so much confusion in circumstances do both Polybius and Livy conclude their account of Hannibal's march. Yet the reader will remember and observe, that Polybius had not only taken his account from people living on the spot at the time, but had himself gone expressly to examine the *Local*.

Vol. I. p. 129. This instance of inaccuracy in Polybius forms a parallel to the other in Livy; and is indeed more culpable in Polybius, than the other is in Livy, because the former travelled into Gaul, and *seems to have visited Lyons*, for the sake of local information. This shews the advantage which *we moderns* have over the ancients by the help of maps.

P. 168. All that march however of Hannibal, though it was pursued through *a couple of nations* is totally omitted by Polybius.

Q. Was the march of Hannibal, according to Polybius, conducted through *that couple of nations*?

P. 171. Mr. de St. Simon observed that Polybius carried Hannibal over the Druentia, and (as he should also have observed) carried him by a road, mostly level, to the Alps. But Polybius had leapt over this intermediate region, and therefore he and Folard refused to pace over it. Q. Whether

“ have, with a great degree of probabi-
 “ lity, traced the march of Hannibal
 “ through this vale:” and merely be-
 cause I say, “ It became matter of amuse-
 “ ment whilst passing down from the
 “ heights of Montlimart, to trace and
 “ follow with my eye the *supposed* course
 “ of this march, as Hannibal is *supposed*
 “ to have passed the Rhone at Beaucare
 “ and Roquemaure; to have marched in
 “ two columns up to Ambrone; and to

ther Mr. Whitaker and these authors are not at cross-pur-
 poses, describing a very different rout, over a very different
 river from that which he supposes to be the Druentia?

Vol. II. p. 45. The Alps (observes Polybius) on their
 tops, and on the parts adjoining to the passes, are all per-
 fectly bare of trees, and naked of themselves, because the
 snow lies on them continually, both winter and summer.
 This account, however, says Mr. Whitaker, is confused,
 exaggerated, and false. Q. Did Polybius, by the words
 Ἀλπίων ἄκρα, mean the same thing as Mr. Whitaker's tops?
 The confusion lies with him who takes two different things
 to be the same. It certainly is not true, and would be an
 exaggerated account, to say that the tops of the Alps in ge-
 neral are continually covered with snow; but it is certainly
 true, and no exaggeration, to say, the Ἀκρæ, the highest
 extreme points, as Mont Blanc for instance, is continually
 covered with snow.

To close this note, I will refer to a general remark, made
 by Mr. Whitaker, on all the delineators of Hannibal's
 march, prior to *his undertaking to ascertain it*: chap.
 III. § 5. p. 248. We are now come to that point of
 Hannibal's march which none of the delineators of his
 march have presumed to touch. They have all agreed in
 one general conspiracy against the facts, that now suc-
 ceed immediately in his history; and have united to sup-
 press them entirely.

“ have thence pierced through the passes
 “ (those of the white rock) of the Celtic
 “ Alps”—[Although I use the general
 appellation Celtic Alps, distinguishing
 these parts from Maritime Alps, yet Mr.
 Whitaker acknowledges that I was not
 ignorant that these parts, by a special
 division, were called the Cottian Alps,]
 — “ *so confounded,*” says Mr. Whit-
 aker, “ does Mr. Pownall appear in the
 “ geography of the very country he is
 “ visiting.” Here this gentleman sup-
 poses me to suppose, that Roquemaure,
 and not Tarascon, is opposite to Reau-
 caire; and to be ignorant that Roque-
 maure is many miles higher up the river;
 on the contrary, the account which I give
 that Hannibal passed his army over at these
 two places is founded in fact *. That
 when he was preparing to pass his main-

* Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajiciendum,
 terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique
 obtinentes; quos ut averteret, Hannonem, Bomilcaris filium
 vigiliâ primâ noctis, cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis,
 adverso flumine, ire iter unius diei jubet. Et ubi pri-
 mum potest, quam occultissimè, trajecto anni, circumducere
 agmen, ut, cum opus factum sit, adoriatur a tergo hos-
 tem, ad id dati duces Galli educunt inde millia quinque et
 viginti firmè suprà parvæ insulæ circumfusa amnem, &c.
 N. B. This account given by Livy is almost literally trans-
 lated from Polybius.

body over at Beaucaire, he sent up on the West side of the river a detachment commanded by Hanno, with orders to pass the river, at about a day's march distant, so as to come upon the rear of the enemy, who opposed themselves to him on the opposite bank of the river. That this detachment went on this rout twenty-five miles, and crossed the river, at a place so precisely and specifically described by Livy*, that it is impossible to mistake it, and not to fix upon the spot. Roquemaure is about twenty-five miles distant from Beaucaire; and is, as to the *local*, just as Polybius and Livy describe it.

As soon as Hannibal knew, from a signal made by Hanno, that this detachment had passed, he began to transport his main body over. The enemy opposed him; but Hanno, with his detachment, came down upon their rear. They took the alarm, and quitted the contest. Hannibal then passed the remainder over without any opposition.

* To use the words of Mr. Whitaker, "faithful to reality even in the minutest touches of his pencil." Livy, as may be seen above, is not always so fortunate as to have the good opinion of this gentleman.

Mr. Whitaker himself takes notice (vol. I. 190) of this detachment passing the river, at some place above the main body, &c. And yet has this gentleman so confounded* himself, by preconceived notions, not only in the geography of the country, but also in the movement of an army whose course of march he is describing, that the reference which I make to *two trajects* appears to him all confusion of fact and ignorance of geography. On the contrary, my fixing upon Roquemaure for the traject at which Hanno's detachment passed the river, whilst Hannibal was preparing to pass at Beaucaire, is, I would hope, founded in some geographical knowledge of the country I was visiting.

As I am not writing the history of this march, but only amusing myself with tracing by my eye the *supposed course* of it, according to the opinion of others. It is not now, any more than it was then necessary to go into a detail of it. I will however state one reason, added to those whereon many learned antiquaries had founded their opinion of the army march-

* A favorite expression with Mr. Whitaker.

ing to Ambrone, which induced me to adopt this their opinion.

Polybius expressly says, that as soon as Hannibal had passed the Rhone, he formed his line of march; placing his cavalry and elephants in the rear, next the river, * *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, thence took his rout † in a course from the sea one while going eastward, one while towards the midland country of Europe; now the combined line of this course would be E. N. E. and lead to Ambrone.

This course in that direction of it which went *East* could not “keep close to the “Rhone,” as Mr. Whitaker describes it: the course up the Rhone is direct North. Polybius could not be, nor can he, by any ingenuity, be supposed to be ignorant, that the course up the river was North; nor would he, if he supposed Hannibal to keep close to the Rhone, describe the course of his march in any part of it *εἰς τὴν ἑω*.

* *Παρὰ* with an accusative case in this construction imports juxta, *παρὰ τὰ φρον ὀρέγλην*. Homer.

† *Ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω, ὡς εἰς μεσογαῖαν τῆς Εὐρώπης*. Polyb.

As I mention the army marching in two columns, it may also be expected, that I explain whence I took that opinion. I did suppose, that the detachment commanded by Hanno did continue to act as a detached corps ; and, for a similar reason as that why it passed at a different traject, it would march on the left flank of the main body, to cover it from any desultory irruptions upon its line of march from the enemy. The use of that disposition would cease when the army arrived at Ambrone, where other dispositions must be made. Now, surely, I would hope, that without any imputation of confusedness, I may suppose, that when it entered the defiles of the Alps, it might have marched in one column over one and the same ridge, whichsoever that might be. The reader will observe, that I did not venture to suppose, much less presume to *ascertain*, which that was.

Well, but as my eye went to Ambrone, Mr. Whitaker will make my opinion go over the Mont Genevre ; and, as I mentioned the White Rock, he will make me go also over the Little St. Bernard,

over

over two very different and distant passes, in one and the same rout.

I might have followed up my ideas one stage farther, to Mont Dauphin; and yet, when there, it was not necessary I should go to Mount Genevre. I might have supposed another rout; as at Mount Dauphin the road divides, going in one direction over Mount Genevre, in another up the vale of Quieras, and thence down the vale of Lucerna to the Po. As to the white rock, I mention that in a parenthesis, as a distinctive mark to be observed, wheresoever Hannibal's course should be supposed to pass. I did not, nor could I be supposed to mean or to refer* to the white rock said to be discovered by General Melville, in his rout over the Little St. Bernard; I had not at that time, nor have I since, seen his Memoire on that subject. Mr. Whitaker might as well suppose me to mean and to refer to *his white rock*, which he finds in his course over the Grand St. Bernard:

* I have within these few days been shewn a map, wherein General Melville has, by a red line, traced his idea of Hannibal's course. Bath, June 9, 1794.

for indeed, as he says *, “ a white-rock
 “ would not be difficult to be found
 “ upon † any of the lines drawn for Han-
 “ nibal’s movements.”

If, therefore, it had been my purpose,
 or I had thought it worth my while, to
 follow with my opinion the trace of Han-
 nibal’s march beyond Ambrone ‡, “ I
 “ would not, in the easy acquiescence of
 “ a lazy antiquarianism, have contented
 “ myself with the mere casualty of a
 “ white rock occurring. I would have
 “ examined the particular position of the
 “ rock, and marked how accommodable
 “ it were to the tenor of the history.”

I shall not now, as I did not, when I
 cursorily mentioned *the supposed march* of
 Hannibal from Beaucaire to Ambrone,
 enter into any disquisition of the general
 subject. My only aim in these remarks
 is to exculpate *my notices* from the charge
 of inaccuracy and ignorance imputed to

* Whitaker, vol. I. p. 269.

† Why then will Mr. Whitaker make it *necessary*, that
 my opinion should lead over Little St. Bernard for the sake
 of a white rock which is said to lie in that rout, when a
 white rock, he says, may be found in any ?

‡ Whitaker, vol. I. p. 270.

them by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker in two or three parts."

I was not ignorant that there were three opinions as to the course of Hannibal's march. Passing down from the heights of Montlimart, the sight of the great plain below, which I describe*, as the *Delta* of Gaul, brought to my mind the the † opinion which I had adopted, as the *probable* one; and I amused myself with tracing by my eye this *supposed* course of Hannibal's march. - I am very little solicitous whether this be thought to be the right one. If Mr. Whitaker shall think it is not, I shall leave the point, which of the other two be the right one, to be settled by General Melville and Mr. Whitaker, by the one who, as a scholar, and an officer, master of his profession, examined the *local* with his own eyes: and compared it with the history on the spot; and by the other,

* I am not ignorant, that the island described by Polybius and Livy, has been called *the Delta*; yet, without controverting that opinion, as the tract of land which I describe *at the Delta* is more similar in circumstances and form to the Delta of Egypt, transferred that name to it, and call it the *Delta of Gaul*.

† This opinion has also been adopted in the great map of the Italian dominions of the King of Sardinia, made under the authority of Government.

who,

who, as an ingenious critic, and learned author, “*ascertains it by the glasses of “ history*” in his closet. I shall leave it to these gentlemen to settle whether Hannibal in his march went up the vale of the Isar by Grenoble, and thence over the Little St. Bernard; or whether he marched all the way up the vale of the Rhone to Lyons, and thence over the Grand St. Bernard. There are some probabilities, and many difficulties to be met with in both these opinions.

If I were disposed to give up the opinion I had adopted, and were farther inclined to interpose any opinion as to these two other routs, I could go with such my opinion in company with these gentlemen as far as *the island**, that insulated tract of country surrounded by the Rhone and the Isar, which was the principal habitation of the Allobroges, named *the island* from its being so bounded.

* Quartis castris, ad *Insulam* pervevit. Ubi Arar Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, conflant in unum. Mediis campis Intulæ nomen inditum incolant *prope* Allobroges.—Note Crevieri—non *prope* ut Livius, sed in ipsa insula incolere Allobroges dicit Polybius.

Polybius seems to say (Lib. 9, § 47.) that Hannibal passed the Alps by the sources of the Rhone: but if the printed editions do actually contain Polybius's precise opinion; yet the rout by which he went is not ascertained. Both Polybius and Livy say, indeed, (according to the printed editions,) that he went up to point, or fork, where the Rhone and *Arar* unite, and describe the tract between these two rivers as an island. But the river, here called the *Arar*, is described as coming from the Alps as well as the Rhone. Now the *Arar* rising in Franche Comte, running through Burgundy, and joining the Rhone at Lyons, never comes within ninety miles of the Alps; whereas the *Isar* rises in, and comes from, the Alps. Nor do the *Arar* and Rhone surround any tract of country in a manner so as it may be called an island; whereas the Rhone and *Isar* actually do, the tract between their courses being almost*, within a small space of being entirely, surrounded by them. Nor, lastly, did the Allobroges dwell between the Rhone and the *Arar*, but between the Rhone and the *Isar*.

* At, Les Echelles.

I could not, therefore, accompany with my opinion Mr. Whitaker higher up the Rhone, nor go with him to Lyons. My opinion would lead me with General Melville across this island about twenty posts E N E, in the direction of the Isar. I think Mr. Whitaker might accompany us so far; and yet not give up his pass by the sources of the Rhone over the Grand St. Bernard. For if he would, instead of reprobating Livy * *for turning to the left*, he might turn thence, and go with him to the left to Chamberry: whilst General Melville goes off upon the right to Grenoble, and keeps up the vale of the Isar. Mr. Whitaker might thence, having passed through the country of his friends the Allobroges, the Tricastines, &c. come again upon the Rhone, by a better and shorter way. This gentleman, however, abiding by the printed letter, rather than looking to the geography, the topography, and inhabitancy of the country, takes the point of land between the Rhone and the Arar to be this island. Upon a more critical re-examination of

* Sedatis certaminibus Allobragum, quum jam Alpes peteret, non rectâ regione iter instituit sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit. Inde, &c. Livius, lib. 21, § 31.

this point, I am convinced that this gentleman is mistaken, and concludes not only without, but against, evidence.

I have said thus much upon a supposition that I was disposed to give up the opinion which I had adopted, and with which I amused myself; but as I am not, as yet, so disposed, I will, if Mr. Whitaker will be so kind as not to insist upon my adopting any opinion farther than I did adopt it, and will permit me to stop at Ambrone, I will remain stationary there; resting on conjecture, until he and General Melville shall have settled which of the two routs is the right one, *ascertained* as a matter of fact.

NUMBER III.

Mr. Whitaker, in a third note, (vol. I. p. 136.) makes a criticism on my calling the Allobroges *Allaboroughs*, or *Ailb'roughs*. He says the word is necessarily *Celtic*; and states me as a writer who knows not British. I will not enter into any discussion about the Celtic language, nor into
any

any question how far the Cymric or British was specifically Celtic. It is possible I may have (no offence I hope) as just a notion of this as himself, even though I knew nothing of British.

I will, however, venture to suggest to his greater learning and more enlarged information a query, whether Brog, or Brox, as it is enounced by the Romans, may not be a traductive term from Bourg, a word of the Teutisch, or old Deutsch language, remaining even at this day common in Germany. This word, although in the course of time it was applied to express a town or city, was used originally as a name to express the Pagus or Civitas (not Urbs) at large. There are several towns called simply Bourg, and more with the termination bourg affixed to some specifick name, as Straas-bourg, Magde-bourg, Lunen-bourg, Branden-bourg, &c.

Although Mr. Whitaker, rather contemptuously, supposes me to be ignorant of every other language, and for that reason to make the word an English one scil. borough or b'rough; yet, I will venture to say, that English word is only

traductive from the old Deutsch word brog, or b'rog.

That English terms have been thus traductive even from the Greek language, I present him with one instance. The term, generally used as a termination affixed, *Bury*, or *Bery*, is derived from the term Βρυα; also used in the same manner in several instances, signifying Πολις.

But, perhaps, this learned critic may think *his Celtic word Brog*, means breeches; and that these Allobroges were called from a peculiarity in their cloathing *Allbreeches*, Galli braccati; as the name of a Dutch family, which I knew, was *Tenbrog'*, from Ten-breeches. If he does, I will not controvert the point with him.

But I have unfortunately said that the Allobroges, or Allb'roughs, were a republick; and, in consequence of this, have incurred from the Rev. Mr. Whitaker this inquisitorial censure, as follows:
 “ This frenzy of freedom, this ignorance of language, have sure risen to
 “ their *highest noon* together, when a
 “ name,

“ name, importing only the nation to
 “ be Gaul, is made to prove them a
 “ *Republick*, and a Republick of bo-
 “ roughs.”

My Notices were written and published many years before the word *Republick*, in consequence of the abuse and perversion of it, was made a party term, denoting a spirit of faction in those who used it. But I plead not to an inquisition respecting my political principles; I will appeal from it to the cool deliberate judgement and integrity of Mr. Whitaker: and, assured of not risking any ungentlemanlike imputation from this gentleman, I will venture to repeat that the government of the Allobroges was a Republick, a Fœderation of B'roughs; each borough administered by their Principes, and the whole in its civil government by the Principes and Senate *Senatus Principumque Sententiâ* *. The power of the principes was merely authoritative, not coercive, *authoritate suadendi magis, quam jubendi potestate* †. The military command of this Republick was an im-

* Livius, lib. 21, § 31.

† Tacitus de Mor. Germ. § 11.

perium, executed by an *Imperator*, who was elective, chosen by the *Principes* and Senate.

If Mr. Whitaker consults Cæsar's Commentaries (Lib. 7, § 64.), if he consults Cicero (Orat. 3 in Catilinam.), or Sallust, for an account of the Ambassadors of the Allobroges, he will find they were delegates, not of any King, or other person having monarchical power, but of the people *Allobrogum*: and he will find, farther, that when any negotiation was to be carried on with these people, it was not entered into with a King, but with the *Principes* *, as preparatory to a settlement with a nation at large.

If Mr. Whitaker wishes to be more particularly informed of the species of republican government which I refer to, I will refer him to Tacitus de Moribus

* Nihilo minus clandestinis nunciis, legationibusque Allobroges sollicitat; quorum mentes nondum à superiore bello residisse sperabat. Horum Principibus pecunias, Civitati autem imperium totius provinciæ pollicetur. De Bell. Gall. l. 7. § 64.

Catiline employed Umbro to treat with the Allobroges. P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat—quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque Principibus Civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Sallust Bell. Catil.

Ger-

Germanorum, where he will find described a government of the same sort.

NUMBER IV.

Mr. Whitaker roundly and positively asserts, that the four columns, mentioned by me in my *Notices*, which support the dome of a church at Lyons, “are beautiful columns of Egyptian granite.” I had said “that they are of granite, not Egyptian, but of a species which are found in the mountains of Dauphiné.” When I said this, I said it from the information and on the authority of Academicians, great naturalists, living on the spot. And when I say, “that it is apparent that they have been made out of two sawn asunder, and that they are now four misshapen disproportioned supports called columns,” I venture to say this from my own view, and my own knowledge of what the form and proportion of a column ought to be. I will not here retort on this gentleman by a similar mode of direct contradiction,
such

such as he uses. I will only beg that Mr. Whitaker would either himself examine this fact on the spot, or get some naturalist to examine the *matter* of them, and some architect to examine the *form*, before he decides so peremptorily. If he does, I will venture to say, he will coincide with, not contradict, my assertion and opinion,

CLOSE.

C L O S E.

I will here, with my respects to Mr. Whitaker's literary abilities, close these papers. I will beg that Mr. Whitaker will not consider me, as entering into controversy with him about these learned trifles. I have neither leisure nor inclination to employ my time in such matters, at a period of my life, when things of higher import and more serious concern ought to engage my attention. If what I have written here does not satisfy him; let him rest satisfied in himself, that I am wrong, and he is right. He may enjoy the idea of a literary victory over me; I shall not contest it; he may erect his trophies on the field of battle; and, if he can obtain from the *Republick* of Letters, and will accept from a Republick the honour of a triumph, he may erect a triumphal arch on any favourite spot of Hannibal's course *ascertained*; or in the *kingdom* of the Allobroges.

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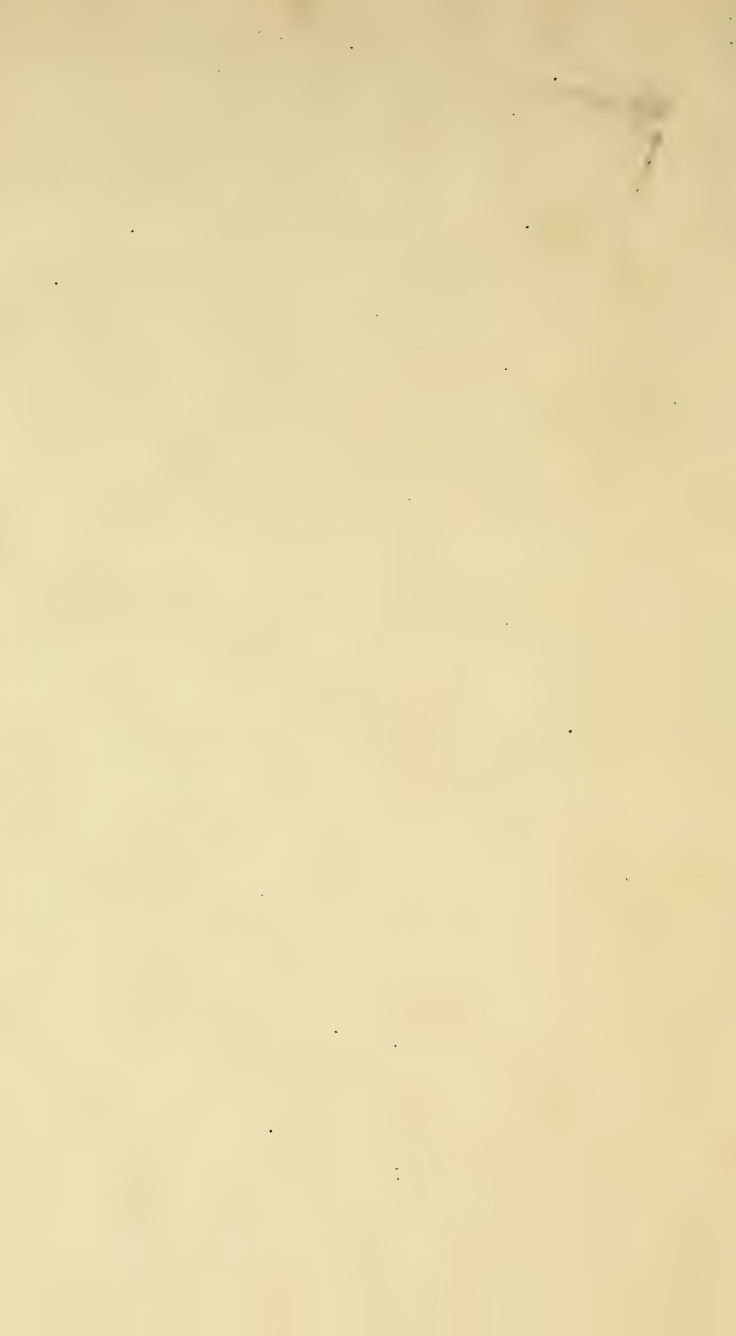
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